1: Jenness--47 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 648, 177

"The Copper Eskimos had no intercourse with the Indians of Great Bear lake until Mr. Stefansson brought them together in 1910; since then they have regularly visited the lake each summer and traded their dogs for guns and ammunition. Up to 1910 they were afraid of the Indians, and apparently never reached quite as far as Bear lake, its north end at least. (2) They have a tradition that long ago some Indians came up from the south and massacred many of the Walliak natives, after which they went away west, carrying with them the Eskimos' pots. Possible there is some reference in this to the massacre at Bloody fall. Higilak told me that the Eskimos never fought with the Indians, though the latter would steal their copper and pots. Once when the Indians were close to a party of Eskimos the latter kindled a great fire and threw the ashes into the eyes of their enemies. Natives from Bathurst inlet at the present day often travel overland in summer to the country between the Coppermine river and McTavish bay. Much of their journey to the Coppermine can be made in kayaks, since there are numerous lakes everywhere, as Franklin found on his first journey. Caribou too are abundant, and every summer scores of them are herded into the lakes and speared from kayaks. I

"2. Cf. Simpson, Discoveries, p. 347; Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p. 216."

was unable to learn whether the Eskimos often came into contact with Indians along this route; probably not, for we found little or no evidence in their culture and traditions that would indicate any established relations. Mr. Chipman met some Tree river Eskimos in the spring of 1916 who were heading for the upper reaches of the Coppermine in order to trade with Dog Rib Indians from Fort Rae; but presumably this was a new departure in their movements, and dated back no more than three or four years. The amicable relations established between the two races in 1916 were still further improved in the following year, when a band of 17 Indians from Fort Rae and Great Bear lake descended to the mouth of the Coppermine river to visit a white trader named Klengenberg. (3) Thus European influence, after extending slowly north for several centuries, is at last making itself felt in this region, and for the first time since Hearne's day the Indians have ventured to approach the Arctic coast."

"3. Report of the Bathurst Inlet Patrol, p. 38."

"Ilatsiak, who had thrice visited the Akilinnik region, had also been three times to Netsilik, or at least had visited those people three times. Many white men, he said, men without chins on their faces, (1) go to that country in ships and the Netsilingmiut barter with them for knives. Somewhere in that direction also, he believed, were a people with long claws on their hands with which they tear strangers to pieces.

The father of Kingollik, a Bathurst inlet native still living, once made a trip to the country of Netsilik, and his sister married a Netsilik man. Other Bathurst inlet natives had also visited that country, and have met natives there from other groups, Aivilingmiut (Repulse bay natives?), Mallorektomiut who live behind them (tungani, i.e. north?), and Ukkusiksalingmiut (Wager bay inland to the mouth of Backs river). One man who is still living, the father of a young Tree river native, married a woman of Asiak and made a journey to the country of the Aivilingmiut. The Netsilingmiut, these Coronation gulf natives say, have a very peculiar manner of welcoming strangers; they give them a buffet on the head or shoulder with their fists. Their mittens deaden the force of the

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"1. See Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt.I, p.302; My Life with the Eskimos, p.179."

blow to some extent; nevertheless it is no mere tap, for in one case at least a visitor was 'killed for a time' (i. e., stunned) by a buffet behind the ear.(2) The country of Netsilik is almost devoid of driftwood, consequently its people are eager for sleds and other objects of wood which the western natives possess, though the Netsilingmiut also purchase stone lamps and pots. In exchange they give the Copper natives articles of iron, such as knives and harpoon heads. A few of the Netsilingmiut had guns from white men, but not knowing how to use them, they broke them up, the western natives say, for the sake of the iron. (3) One Eskimo in Coronation gulf had heard of white men who visited the shores of Netsilik and Ukkusiksalik one summer in two ships, but left again before the sea froze over; one of the ships had four masts, the other only two. He had heard too that a Bathurst inlet native who had migrated to Netsilik after

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"2. Cf. Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 609."

"3. A Puivlik native informed me that the Kanghiryuarmiut obtained some guns from McClure's ship, the Investigator, but as they did not know how to use them they broke them up. They had not seen any of the white men who abandoned this ship in Mercy bay."

the death of his parents had finally boarded a ship of the white men and sailed away with them. Evidently this is a reference to the Eskimo named 'Manni,' whom Amundsen took west with him when he left the Netsilik country. (4)"

"4. Amundsen, Vol. II, p.114."

1: Jenness--185
116, 784, 177

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"Mr. Stefansson's western Eskimos were responsible for the introduction of a new custom in 1910. They told the Copper Eskimos that if they did not cut off a fragment from every skin they sold to the white men to be taken out of the country, the animals would follow the skins and leave the country also. This applied particularly to the caribou, the natives said, which for this reason had almost disappeared from Alaska and the Mackenzie river delta. Hence some of the Copper Eskimos now cut a corner from each deerskin garment and an ear from each skin that they sell to the white men, lest their country too should be denuded of its game."

"In concluding this sketch of the life of the Copper Eskimos a few remarks are necessary about the influence of the handful of white men with whom they came into contact prior to our expedition. The earliest explorers, such as Collinson and Rae, lingered too short a time, and had too little intercourse with them to produce any considerable effect upon their lives. A quantity of iron was introduced into the country and a feeling of friendliness generated towards the white man, but beyond this they had little real influence. Hardly more was effected by Hanbury's rapid journey along the coast in 1902, or by the brief sojourns of Captains Klengenberg and Mogg in Victoria island be tween 1905 and 1907, or even by the visit of Mr. Stefansson in 1910 and of Mr. Stefansson and Dr. Anderson in 1911. The first important changes came in when Messrs. Hornby and Melville established themselves on Great Bear lake in 1908 and Captain J. Bernard reached Coronation gulf with his schooner in 1910. Extensive trading was carried on with the natives, who then for the first time came into possession of the high-powered rifles that bid fair to revolutionize their lives. Fox-trapping, too, became profitable now that they had a [241] market for their skins, and even those natives who never fell in with the white men began to give some attention to it. The Eskimos were particularly struck by the fact that many articles of inestimable value to themselves, such as tin cans, scrap iron and steel needles, were very little prized by the white men, who set more store on fox-skins and other objects of little use to

the natives themselves and therefore of small value in their eyes. The white men again were inferior in hunting, except for the advantage their rifles gave them, and less hardy and enduring. They were ignorant, too, of the art of harpooning seals and of building snow huts, so that they could not move from their houses in winter without their tents. Further they often bought meat from the natives, or employed them to hunt for them, and the women to sew their clothes. The journey of the two French missionaries to the mouth of the Coppermine river in 1913 must have opened the eyes of the Eskimos to the difficulties under which the majority of white men labour when they try to cope with Arctic conditions of life and travel. For many different reasons, therefore, the natives conceived a certain amount of contempt for white men, a contempt that was only qualified by a desire to gain some of their most valued possessions, their knives and axes and particularly their rifles and their ammunition. The receipt of indiscriminate presents, however small their value to the donors, undermined the dignity and independence of the natives, especially those of the Coppermine river basin who came more directly under this influence. They quickly dropped the custom of offering an equivalent for everything they received, and learned to beg and clamour for everything they saw without the slighest [sic] hesitation or shame. There were still men of grave dignity and self-respect amongst them, [242] especially at the east end of Coronation gulf, where the people had been rather more isolated. There we found

them more honest, more hospitable, and more courteous than the inhabitants of the west end of the gulf and of Dolphin and Union strait, where many of the younger men and women were shameless beggars and meddling thieves, who would slyly turn out every bag on one's sled and examine or carry off its contents. For them the unprotected stranger was fair booty, and only the fear of being cut off from all supplies of rifles and ammunition and other articles on which they were learning to depend prevented them from robbing us more extensively than they did. Even among themselves petty stealing became more frequent, and detection more difficult. This degradation in manners and morals was not of course universal. Some of the natives themselves deplored it, and used what little influence they had to check their neighbours and bring about more honourable relations. Two or three of the worst offenders against us received salutary punishments, and the arrest in 1916 of the two murderers of the Roman Catholic missionaries acquainted the natives for the first time with the agents of civilized law. In that year an Anglican mission under the energetic and capable leadership of the Rev. H. Girling took over our station at Bernard harbour, the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post and several white trappers and traders planted themselves at various points along the coast. In 1917 a second patrol of the Royal North West Mounted Police visited Coronation gulf and a post of the Police was later established at Tree river, and the solitary traveller may now wander with impunity every-

where provided that he exercises a reasonable amount of tact and prudence.

Rapid changes are taking place in the culture of the natives, and implements of iron and steel, rifles, fish-nets, open boats, European textiles and sewing-machines, European foods, cheap musical instruments and the development of trapping at the expense of hunting and sealing will work a complete transformattion within the space of a very few years. Already the new culture elements and the new teachings that are filtering in from the west have profoundly modified their social and religious ideas, and before the present generation passes away the primitiveness of the Copper Eskimo will have ceased to exist. How many will remain by that time, and whether they will be able to take any part in the development of this region depends largely on the manner in which we fulfill our trust. For in throwing open their country to outside invasion we have incurred a heavy responsibility towards the natives. We may increase the security of life among them by checking infanticide and murder, we may protect them from unscrupulous exploitation and from the ravages of intoxicating liquors, but all this will be of little avail unless we immediately take measures to secure them against the introduction of our diseases. Smallpox carried off 2,000 of the Greenland Eskimos in 1734 and 1735, and in the same century it destroyed many of the Labrador natives as well. Thirty years ago it was estimated that the Eskimo population of the Mackenzie river delta numbered 2,000; by 1913 it was reduced to barely 500, the majority of the

natives having been swept away by measles. The epidemic of influenza in 1918 exacted a terrible toll among the Eskimos of northern Alaska, several settlements being practically wiped out. The Copper Eskimos have no diseases of their own, or at least none were known up to 1916; but white men and western Eskimos are flocking into their country, and in a few more years perhaps they too will fall victims to some of the scourges of our civilization. It may be impossible to prevent this calamity entirely, but at least we could do something to check it, by instituting a kind of quarantine such as the Danes have done for Greenland. At the present time the only practicable route into the Copper Eskimo country is by way of the Mackenzie river, and if no one were allowed to go eastward without a certificate from a medical officer it might be possible to save these natives from the worst of our diseases and a more or less speedy extinction."

"Note. -- Captain Bernard [AW: see p. 243 of text] reached Ottawa on December 22, 1920. He stated that the Copper Eskimo country had undergone a profound change during the last few years. Four Hudson's Bay Company trading posts had been established, one at Bernard harbour, one at the mouth of the Coppermine river, a third at the mouth of Tree river and a fourth at Kent peninsula. The Eskimos were leaving their winter sealing grounds about two months earlier than usual, and devoting their attention to the trapping of foxes. In the winter of 1919 all the inhabitants of southeast Victoria island migrated to Kent peninsula, where a large supply of blubber fuel had been accumulated by the trader in order that the natives might be able to give all their time to trapping. Hardly a bow remained in the country, nearly every man possessing a rifle. Caribou [249] meat had therefore become the predominant article of food, and the destruction of the caribou was proceeding so rapidly that within ten years, he believed, hardly one would be left in the vicinity of Coronation gulf. The old copper culture had given place to one of iron --even the copper ice-pick had disappeared --and the old style of dress was being abandoned in favour of western models. Infanticide had become exceedingly rare, partly through police and missionary influence, partly, Captain Bernard thought, because the Eskimos were shamed out of the practice by the Indians. He seemed to notice an increase, therefore, in the number of little children. On the other hand tuberculosis had already made its appearance among the Copper

Eskimos. Clearly, for better or for worse, the new era has dawned, and only the future can decide whether the natives will survive or go under."

"Some years prior to our coming an English missionary had travelled through part of the territory of the Copper Eskimos, and wherever he had been able to get he had attempted to preach the Gospel. I believe that this missionary's teachings are at the bottom [34] of what they told me, that 'they who know how to feel pity' go up to a bright land after death, whereas those who are not good to the lonely and orphaned go to a dark land where there is no food or drink. For a punishment after death is quite un-Eskimo."

2: Stefansson--37 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 484, 177

"It is natural that the Haneragmiut, on account of their extensive travels, are better informed of distant places than are any of the other tribes. It is not only that they have seen more places themselves, but by extensive travels and much association with strangers they have acquired a perspective and broadmindedness lacking in other districts. I secured from them accordingly, chiefly from the man Hitkoak mentioned above, a good deal of geographic information about distant places to the east and northeast most of which is more conveniently embodied in a map than in a set discussion.

Hitkoak's information seemed fairly definite and correct as far east as King William Island. He told me that there lived the Netjiligmiut. He had heard that they were just ordinary Eskimo although they had many disagreeable and cruel customs, but next east of them lived other people who differed from ordinary human beings in having no chins; in other words, their necks come straight down from the face to the breast. Beyond these he said lived the Kablunat of whom he had heard many strange stories. These he admitted were not, however, borne out at all by his own experience with Hanbury whom he had found very different from the traditional description of the white men who lived east of King William Island. It was also true he said, that the old men who visited Collinson on his ship had found him and his men to be very similar to Hanbury and not very different from Eskimo in general."

2: Stefansson--129 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 181, 177

"In the district to which the personal knowledge of the writer extends (from Wainwright Inlet, Alaska, to the east end of Coronation Gulf) the Eskimo are in general satisfied with their conditions of life, the least so in the extreme west where the obtrusive pity and insistent commiseration of certain white men has taught them to pretend a discontent which they do not really feel, or at least do not feel in the way in which they have been taught to express it."

2: Stefansson--238 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
177, 117

"Misinformation concerning Knowledge of Ships. Billy misunderstood the other day that a woman who was telling about the two-masted umiak had been to one of the ships. On close inquiry we find neither she nor any other of them was, but they have all their information from the Kañhĭrryuarrmiut, some of whom were at the ship. It seems the Kañhĭrryuarrmiut seldom come down here, they probably made a trade expedition after meeting the ships, who, as is whaler habit, immediately glutted the natural market, expecting later, I suppose, to create an artificial one for tobacco, matches, firearms, flour, and perhaps whiskey.

Outside Influence on Eskimo. Outside influences seem to be as slight and indirect here, therefore, as one can find among the Eskimo or perhaps anywhere in the world. This would be a good place to stop therefore, and we might do so.

People to the East. The Pŭiplĭrmiut are said to be on the south shore of Victoria Island this side the Nagyuktogmiut, and both are said to be numerous. Then there are (account of Hanbury) the group from Bloody Fall to Krusenstern, the people (Hanbury) of Gray's Bay, and the ones seen by Lieut. Hansen at the southeast corner of Victoria Island, and probably Victoria Island people west of these on south coast and possibly some in the islands of Coronation Gulf besides those of whom we have heard. All of these are about equally untouched, and the Akuliakattagmiut are on our home road to be easily seen again."

2: Stefansson--239-240 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
177, 117

"Contact with Explorers. What I know and what they know leads me to think as they think, that neither they nor their ancestors (akuliakattagmiut or Haneragmiut) have come in contact with any of the middle-century explorers. I think it worth while therefore to give more space than already given to a description of their manners, etc.

When I presented some needles to the women they all wanted to pay. This I declined on the ground our sled was too heavily loaded already (as it is); I told them that when we go home I should be glad of anything they give me. Pan. and Tan. had, however, received while B. and I were in Victoria Island several presents of sealskin, bootsoles, slippers, etc. Their interest in us continued to our leaving, though only the men (all I think) came to see us off, helped load the sled, etc. B. and T. had explained when people parted as good friends they always shook hands, so of course it was up to [240] me to shake hands too. I regret having been forced to plant here the seed of this to them thoroughly foreign custom."

2: Stefansson--251 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
325, 177, 117

"Use of Copper. Copper is said to abound near Dismal Lake. I bought a copper snow knife this morning and saw a piece of copper, both said to have been brought from there, the piece by Iglix̌irk, whom Hanbury saw. The copper piece was rudely triangular about five by seven by nine inches and about half an inch thick. It had been partly melted either to break it from its native bed or to break it from a larger piece."

2: Stefansson--251 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
262, 177, 117

"Food. People here asked to taste the salt we put in soup, and after that firmly refused to taste any of our food, at previous places all have tasted the different sorts we have, pemmican, milk, and triscuit. Brought us seal meat after seeing us eat, evidently thinking we must be hard-pressed for food to eat such stuff. Say no deer around here usually. Have seal for food and fish from the lake inland."

April 10. The Future. For over a century since Hearne first saw an encampment of them at Bloody Fall the Coronation Gulf Eskimo have made little 'progress towards civilization.' It was probably after Hearne's time that they first saw an article of European manufacture; later they got a few scraps of iron, etc., by plundering the abandoned boats and gear of the Franklin expedition; Richardson traded the Rae River group a few knives, files, and needles, and so did Rae a little later; Collinson's ships traded with widely separated parties at Cambridge Bay and on Prince of Wales Strait and threw heaps of empty tin cans and other waste gear ashore; M'Clure's abandoned ship on the north coast of Banks Island may have become Eskimo spoil, though he never saw Eskimo on Banks Island, as well as some wreckage from Franklin's ill-fated ships on the east coast of Victoria Island. Of recent years articles of iron have begun to come in more freely by overland native trade from Hudson Bay. Firearms and the fur trade are known by hearsay, though they have not as yet penetrated into Coronation Gulf proper.

From the present year, however, change will be rapid. Our unwilling ministrations this summer broke down the walls of fear and hatred that ignorance of each other has till now maintained and that since effectively kept apart the Coppermine Eskimo and the Bear Lake Slavey. The fur-trading post on Bear Lake River (Fort Norman) is the natural market for Coronation Gulf. The white men there are eager for the Eskimo's furs; the missionaries there are no less eager to extend their activities. Both will go

to the sea if necessary to attain their ends. The Eskimo, after familiarity with our outfit for a summer, are set on getting guns, fish nets and tools, now that they know the Indians are really a harmless lot and [288] friendly. In a year or two the Eskimo would go to the traders if the traders did not come to the Eskimo. And if neither Eskimo nor trader had the enterprise to seek the other, the Indians are eager to act as middlemen between. Commerce in goods may, therefore, be said to have begun; commerce of ideas cannot help following close behind. From the point of view of the ethnologist and sociologist the result of these new forces is clear, the rapid change of ideas, institutions and material surroundings.

Up to the present, three-quarters of the food of the people has been the seal and three-quarters of the year have been spent in its pursuit. The sea has therefore, been their home, the snow hut their dwelling. But the coming of the trader and the acquisition of guns will give the land a lure it formerly did not have and increasingly the people will become land-dwellers seeking furs with which to buy articles to supply their newly discovered wants. At first making a living on land will be easy, for caribou are still numerous. The result will be that the people will live on caribou meat for twelve months a year (some of them, at least) instead of three or four; when they had one dog to hunt seal-holes for them in winter they will now have teams of four or six with which to make long winter journeys (or so it has been in the west of the Baillie Islands) and these dogs

also will feed on caribou meat. At present the caribou has in winter a wide zone of safety between the Indians who dare not face the barren ground and the Eskimo who prefer the sea coast. But the Eskimo fear the woodless barrens about as much as a fish fears water, and when the fur trade draws them inland the doom of the last musk-ox will be not a decade away nor that of the last carbou many decades. This will have its effect on those northern tribes of Indians who are still to an extent caribou-eaters, while the disappearance of the caribou will drive the Eskimo back again to the sea coast. They will then have to get all their living from the water instead of three-fourths of it as at present and will have to dress in sealskins where they now use caribou. By then they will have learned tea drinking, tobacco using, etc., and will have lost their economic independence as completely as have all Eskimo west of the Baillie Islands. They will then be less well fed thán at present, less well clothed, richer only in ideas without which they now live content and in wants which their poverty will never completely satisfy. The coronation Gulf people look to the immediate future with eager anticipation; so do also the fur-traders at Fort Norman. As a spectator with no material interests at stake the writer feels that the trader is to be congratulated, but not the Eskimo. In closing a chapter on the Eskimo of King William Land Captain Amundsen says: 'My best wish for my friends of the Netchillik Eskimos is that civilization may never reach them.' It had reached them even when that line was written, or its wants and its vices had, and that is [289] all of civilization that is readily absorbable. It is

now about to obliterate the last oasis of economic independence on our continent, the populous district surrounding Victoria Island. I would wish these people the same wish that Amundsen did their neighbors to the east, but I should have to put it in a past tense and should have to add a regret that I had a part in bringing the change about.

April 10. Range of Ideas. The people east and north of Cape Bexley were probably even in the earliest days among the most isolated groups of Eskimo anywhere. A comparison of them a hundred years ago with the then equally uncivilized Mackenzie Eskimo would probably have, even then, shown in intellectual things a heavy balance in favor of the westerners. However that may have been, the difference in range of ideas today is marked. Unfortunately, the sixteen years of Herschel Island whaling that preceded the writer's first visit to the Mackenzie Delta had made it difficult to determine for that locality what ideas were local there or of ancient introduction, what ones were borrowed recently from the Alaskan Eskimo, whom the whalers brought with them, and what had been absorbed from the white men directly. Nevertheless a comparison will be attempted on the basis of what seems to be local and primitive in the Mackenzie district."

3: Rasmussen--10 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 609

"Our meeting with the first man was quite unceremonious but quite characteristic of these people, [MPK: the Copper Eskimo] who seem to live on a constant war footing with all strangers. While labouring to make our way into the little bay so that we might save time by driving over a point, I had climbered up a hillock to reconnoitre, when suddenly I caught sight of a young man jigging for cod on the ice. Scarcely had he seen me when he hauled up his line and disappeared at a run round the point. A moment later he reappeared, this time carrying a brand-new Mark 1920 repeating rifle, evidently ready to let it speak if I did not come as a friend. The misunderstanding was soon dissolved in laughter, and, almost as if we had known one another for years we were now able to make our entry into his camp. From the furnishings and utensils in his snow hut it was easy to see that we could not be far from the trading post. Fine blankets, the best of the Hudson's Bay Company's stock, were spread about the platform along with rugs of much more useful material in this land and climate--caribou skin. Enamel dishes had replaced the fine, blubber-shiny wooden trays that are made of driftwood; aluminium pans took the place of stone pots, and even the handsome Eskimo lamp of soapstone had had to surrender to a shiny basin of tin.

Up on the platform, sitting cross-legged, was a young woman in a magnificent caribou-skin jacket, though its beautiful colour effect was entirely concealed by a red overall of calico. Her hands were weighted with gaudy 'shop'rings, and between two fingers she held a fragant 'Lucky Strike' cigarette with almost blasé nonchalance."

8: Cadzow--22 (1919) 1920 Copper Eskimo
116, 177

"The Copper Eskimo are at present rapidly becoming semi-civilized. The Hudson's Bay Company has opened a trading-post near the mouth of Coppermine river, and the Northern Trading Company operates a trading schooner along the shores of Coronation gulf. Within a few years the utilization of native copper by these Eskimo for making weapons and utensils will have ceased, the white man's handy and practical materials having taken its place."

11: Stefansson--173 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 144, 177

"These simple, well-bred, and hospitable people were the savages whom we had come so far to see. That evening they saw for the first time the lighting of a sulphur match; the next day I showed them the greater marvels of my rifle; it was a day later still that they first understood that I was one of the white men of whom they had heard from other tribes, under the name kablunat.

I asked them: 'Couldn't you tell by my blue eyes and the color of my beard?'

'But we didn't know,' they answered, 'what sort of complexions the kablunat have. Besides, our next neighbors north have eyes and beards like yours.' That was how they first told us of the people whose discovery has brought up such important biological and historical problems, the people who have since become known to newspaper readers as the 'Blond Eskimo.'"

11: Stefansson--217-219 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 648, 177

"...while I went to the Eskimo to ask their permission to bring the Indians into camp.

At first the Eskimo refused flatly. They said that they themselves had never had anything to do with the Indians; that their ancestors had had but rare contact with them, and that this contact had never been friendly; that sometimes Indians had killed some of them and sometimes they had killed some Indians, and that now no doubt these Indians had treacherous intentions in wanting to be introduced into camp. Through our long residence with them, however, Natkusiak and I had their confidence so fully that we finally [218] talked them into allowing the Indians to come, on the condition that they leave their weapons behind them.

When I returned to Jimmie with this ultimatum, the Indians in their turn said that the intentions of the Eskimo were clear: that they intended to get them unarmed into their clutches and murder them, and Jimmie would have nothing more of the adventure. His backing out at this stage, however, did not suit me, for the Eskimo were sure to take that as a sign of treachery, and it would not have been a day until every Eskimo party in the neighborhood was on its way to the coast in a retreat in which they would have abandoned their sleds, their skins intended for clothing, and through which we would lose prestige by having brought this calamity upon them. Natkusiak and I therefore took the Indians practically by force into camp, threatening them with all sorts of dire results if they backed out. The Eskimo's reception of the Indians was friendly.

The Indians were dressed in white men's clothing, and were not at all what the Eskimo had expected Indians to be like; and in fact several of them said to me at once that had they known the Indians were like this they would not have been so frightened of them.

This was early September, and the nights were dark at midnight. We had brought the Indians to camp about sundown, and an hour later, when supper had been eaten, the Eskimo invited the Indians to come and sleep in their tents; but this the Indians would not do, saying that it was their custom to sit beside the fire. This seemed to the Eskimo a strange thing, but to me it was a self-evident fib. The Indians were simply too frightened to trust themselves in the dwellings of the Eskimo. Natkusiak and I therefore sat up with the Indians for an hour or two until all the Eskimo were sound asleep, and then finally, by lying down one on either side, we got the Indians to go to sleep between us. The next morning after breakfast the Indians invited the Eskimo to accompany them down to their lodges, where they had considerable quantities of smoked caribou meat, caribou fat, and marrow-bones. Seven of the Eskimo went, including two women, and much of the forenoon was spent in the commodious lodges of the Slaveys in feasting and in exchanging opinions, in all of which I had to act as interpreter.

Finally when the feast was over and the Eskimo were appar- [219] ently in the best of spirits, Jimmie brought forward a package of pictures of saints and holy men, and made a little speech in which he asked me to tell the Eskimo that he was an ambassador

of a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, and that the bishop said that if they were good men and never killed any more Indians and abjured their heathenish practices, he would come and build a mission among them and would convert them to the true faith. This speech, which meant so much to the Indian, would of course have meant nothing to the Eskimo, for they had never heard of the good bishop or of the faith he preaches. Jimmie went on to say that he had a picture for each of them, and that if they would take them and wear them over their hearts, the pictures would protect them from all evil and be of the greatest value to them. Without translating any of these things, I took the pictures, which were ordinary religious chromos, and gave them to the Eskimo."

11: Stefansson--252-255 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 538, 825, 177

"We had here a striking example of how easy it is to be misled by native information. I had been led to believe in the spring that the [253] Coronation Gulf people never had had any knowledge of the killing of bow-head whales, although they were familiar with the carcasses of those that had drifted up on their beaches. Neither had they apparently ever seen a live one, which is not strange, considering the two facts that bow-head whales are not only no doubt very rare in these waters, but the people themselves are always inland in the summer time and are therefore not in a position to see the whales even if they might come into these waters in July or August. But here at this village and now for the first time, after vain inquiries all summer, we heard various stories of whale killings, most of them, however, centering about a single man whom they called Kaplavinna. They told how this person had a very large boat. This again was new information, for up to that time we had heard nothing about anything but kayaks. In the spring, in fact, the people had seemed to be unfamiliar with the very name of umiak.

I listened to several of these stories with great wonder and asked many questions which were readily answered, but which threw no great light on the subject, until it occurred to me to ask one of the narrators, 'Who told you this story? Did you get it from your father?' The man said: 'No, I got it from Natjinna.' Now Natjinna had been a camp follower of ours all summer, and I had asked him specifically in the spring both about bow-head whales and umiaks, and he knew nothing about either. It seemed

strange to me that Natjinna should have misled me so in the summer, and I made up my mind to take him to task for it when I saw him. Two or three weeks later, when I happened to meet him, I asked how was it that in the spring he had been unwilling to tell me anything about whales or big boats and now he told long stories to others about them. 'Oh, but those were the stories that Natkusiak told me,' he answered.

It turned out on investigation that my own man, Natkusiak, was the fountainhead of all these stories, and that the redoubtable whaler Kaplavinna was none other than Natkusiak's former enployer, Captain Leavitt of the steamer whaler Narwhal. These were the local versions, changed to fit the circumstances and geography of Coronation Gulf, and translated into terms comprehensible to the Coppermine Eskimo. I had heard Natkusiak telling these stories the [254] previous spring, but the versions that came to me a year later were so changed that they were not recognizable, and had been so thoroughly localized graphically that the narrators could tell me off just which Coronation Gulf headland the adventures had taken place.

When Natkusiak told these stories, as I noticed on many occasions, he never made any allowances for the fact that he was dealing with things entirely strange to the local people. He discussed davits, masts, sails, anchors, harpoon guns, dynamite bombs, the price of whalebone and the like, exactly as he would have done in his own home village at Port Clarence where these are all familiar topics and matters of everyday conversation. The very names of these things as well as the concepts behind them were

absent from the vocabularies and the minds of the local people, and the ideas which they therefore got from Natkusiak's truthful stories were very far from those which have been gained from the same narratives by a people whose everyday experiences made them comprehensible.

From the seeds sown here by Natkusiak there had grown up a local myth about Kaplavinna and his whaling adventures, --a myth which Natkusiak himself would have had fully as much trouble as I in recognizing, ---just as exactly as the discussion of the Christian religion by a missionary and of a strange social and political system by a school teacher gives rise to the most astounding ideas in the minds of the Alaskan Eskimo....

Another story which we picked up at this time was that of the Imnait. There were vague and mysterious animals living in an unknown land to the west, which is also inhabited by the Kiligavait. This story did not give us nearly so much trouble in identifying it as did that of Kaplavinna, for the name of the monster was a correct reproduction of that used by my own Eskimo in the previous year in telling their adventures in mountain sheep hunting. Mountain sheep, of course, are found nowhere east of the Mackenzie River, and could not, therefore, be directly known to the Coronation Gulf Es- [255] kimo. These people were also unfamiliar with the dangers involved in the possible snow-slides and other peculiar conditions of mountain hunting.

They had received from Natkusiak the general idea that mountain sheep hunting was dangerous, and being unable to ascribe any danger to the mountains as such, they had transferred the dangerousness of the snow-slides and precipices to the sheep themselves; and the hairbreadth escapes from death in snow-slides which Natkusiak had described became in their version hairbreadth escapes from the teeth and claws of the ferocious mountain sheep. The kiligavait, which they had associated with the mountain sheep in these narratives, were nothing but the mammoth, known to all branches of Eskimo race by name at least, and known here also, according to what we were told by they occasional finding of their bones. Of course, Natkusiak had told nothing about mammoth hunting, but the mysterious mountain sheep naturally allied themselves in their minds with the also mysterious mammoth, and were therefore to be coupled together in recounting the same adventures. Thus we had a side-light, not only upon the origin of myths among primitive people, but also upon the startling rapidity with which they grow and change their form."

12: Collinson--172
116, 342, 356, 177

(1851-53) 1889

Copper Eskimo

"On our route we found the natives encamped near our first anchorage. The snow houses have certainly a very clean and comfortable appearance when first built, but they soon get abominably filthy. During the following day they were joined by another portion of the tribe whom we had not yet seen, and among these men we found a small axe and part of a pemmican tin, which showed they were the party who had met with the Investigator's people in the spring."

12: Collinson--206-207 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 177

[T.M: extract from Lt. Jago's sledge journal] "The natives had no traces of having [207] communicated with any Europeans, with the exception of a few beads, which appeared to be the same kind as we got in Hongkong. They wanted us very much to come up to their encampment, which was about five miles to the eastward, but as they mustered upwards of one hundred in number, I thought we had better keep away."

12: Collinson--285 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 142, 515, 177, 562

"The aquiline nose and Jewish cast of countenance noticed last year was not observed this; but their features resemble the general characteristics of their race, viz., broad forehead, small eyes and flat profile, chin tapering to a point, hair coarse and black, no whiskers and but little on the upper lip or chin. The women are slightly tattooed, low of stature (one a mother being but 4 feet 3 inches high); when young not devoid of some beauty, but this, as is usual among natives where the female sex are looked upon as drudges, soon passes off; and to this I attribute in some measure the ill-success our looking-glasses had in the market. One great advantage they possessed over their brethren to the westward in our eyes, was the absence of vermin on their persons."

12: Collinson--286 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 103, 177, 128, 412

"Mr. Arbuthnot succeeded in inducing some of them to draw a chart of the coast to the eastward, which was several times repeated, agreeing very well with each other, but were totally unlike the coast afterwards travelled over by me. He also appeared to think they indicated a ship being there; but in my opinion it was a repetition of his question. They appeared to know the woman Kablalla mentioned by Sir James Ross, but had no knowledge of Oogeolik. But little or no iron was found amongst them, needles, knives, and fish-hooks being made of copper; an occasional iron or even a brass tip was seen on the arrows, and the few and well-worn beads on their persons showed that this was in all probability the first time they had come in contact with white men."

13: Jenness--83-86 (1914-1916) 1917 Copper Eskimo
116, 177

"In 1905, C. Klongenberg in the Olga, and in 1907 C. Mogg, in another vessel of the same name, wintered on the south-[86] west coast of Victoria Island; both had western Eskimos among their crews and both met the local natives for a short period. Stefansson met them in 1910 and again in company with Dr. R. M. Anderson in 1911, on both occasions accompanied by western Eskimos. In 1910, J. Bernard entered the country and spent a winter; in 1912 he returned and spent two additional winters, having with him an Eskimo family from Baille Island. From 1914 to 1916 the Canadian Arctic Expedition was in uninterrupted contact with the same natives, while the northern party of the same expedition met the Eskimos of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet. The Anglican Church has sent missionaries into the country, who have now probably established themselves in Dolphin and Union Strait. Traders and western Eskimos are reported to be following in their wake, so that the Copper Eskimos will again have constant relations with the west, and with the whites as well as with the old trading groups they have been accustomed to meet in years past."

13: Jenness--91
116, 177

(1914-1916) 1917

Copper Eskimo

"Since the visit of J. Bernard, the Eskimos are devoting considerable time to trapping of foxes. These are probably less numerous than farther west, but still there are enough to make the industry profitable. Traps are in great demand on this account. Every kind of cloth, too, is eagerly sought after. Woolen clothing would be very serviceable during the greater part of the year and cloth tents invaluable in summer; but woolen and cotton garments of any description are likely to introduce pulmonary troubles among a people ignorant of their proper use."

"THE CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE COPPER ESKIMO*

By Diamond Jenness
Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa

It is rare enough today that the student of human culture can light upon a people who still cling to their primitive mode of life in utter ignorance of the outside world: more rare still that he can watch the tide of civilization slowly reach their shores and finally engulf them in its stream. Usually, long before the ethnologist approaches such a country, the products of civilization, handed on from tribe to tribe, have already preceded him and the ancient manner of life no longer exists. Thus, here in America, the horse came in only with Columbus; yet before the white man reached the plains the Indians throughout the basins of the Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Mississippi had been transformed to roving horsemen. However, in one small section of the continent, in the region of Coronation Gulf just a thousand miles north of Winnipeg, there remained, down to the twentieth centure, some groups of Eskimos who had no contact with the outside world, to whom the arts and products of our civilization were known and the very name of white man was only a legend. Suddenly and without warning, their isolation has been

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rudely shattered, their independence destroyed, their culture transformed, and they themselves, like their kinsmen in Alaska and Labrador, are being reduced to the level of economic slaves in the service of European civilization. (1) "

"1. See the author's articles 'The Copper Eskimos,' Geogr. Rev., Vol. 4, 1917, pp. 81-91; and 'The Eskimos of Northern Alaska: A Study in the Effect of Civilization,' Geogr. Rev., Vol. 5, 1918, pp. 89-101."

"Earliest Visits To Coronation Gulf

The first white man to sight the waters of Coronation Gulf was Samuel Hearne, who traveled overland to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771 with a party of Chipewyan Indians. Just below Bloody Fall they encountered a few families of Eskimos peacefully engaged in fishing, all of whom they massacred. After this the Indians were afraid to linger in the country, and, with Hearne, hastily retreated to the south.

The next explorer to visit the region was Captain (afterwards Sir) John Franklin. Starting from Fort Enterprise on his first journey in 1821 he reached the lower waters of the Coppermine in a few weeks. He too found some Eskimos fishing below Bloody Fall; but, unlike Hearne's party, he tried to establish friendly relations with them. Most of the natives fled, but Franklin succeeded in communicating with one family from whom he [542] obtained a little information about their habits. He then continued his journey, following the coast line eastward as far as Cape Turnagain on Kent Peninsula. He saw fresh tracks of the natives in many places but not the natives themselves. On his return he ascended the Hood River for some distance, then abandoned his canoes, and struck overland to Old Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake. No white man since Franklin's day has ever traversed this route, although the Eskimos not infrequently make the journey in the course of a summer's hunting."

"Finding of the Copper Eskimos

On Franklin's second expedition to the Arctic, in 1826, two of his lieutenants, Richardson and Kendall, sailed from the mouth of the Mackenzie to the mouth of the Coppermine, mapping the whole of the coast line. No Eskimos were seen on this journey, although a party was found to have just quitted Bloody Fall, probably frightened by the presence of the white men. Dease and Simpson met with no better fortune in 1838 when they traversed the coast from the mouth of the Coppermine to Kent Peninsula. In the following year, however, these two explorers discovered a camp of about thirty natives a few miles west of the mouth of the Coppermine. Most of them fled to the hills, but the family that remained behind was very favorably impressed by the white men, and the friendly relations that were then established proved of great service to Richardson ten years later. From the Coppermine Dease and Simpson turned eastward and followed the mainland to beyond Backs River; then, returning, they explored a part of the south coast of Victoria Island. No more natives were seen throughout their voyage, although vestiges of them were noticed in many places."

Friendly Relations Established

"In 1848 Richardson repeated his voyage of twenty years earlier from the mouth of the Mackenzie to the Coppermine River. His boats were frozen in near Cape Kendall, about thirty miles from the mouth of the Coppermine, and the party had to proceed to Great Bear Lake on foot. Fortunately the Eskimos whom Dease and Simpson had met ten years before were encamped on the Rae River, and readily consented to ferry the explorers across in their kayaks. During the next two years Richardson's companion, Rae, revisited the region and explored not only the mainland eastward to Cape Alexander, but all the southern coast of Victoria Island from Cape Back to Pelly Point. Besides meeting his old acquaintances on the Rae River he had an interview with three Eskimos near Cape Flinders on Kent Peninsula; and in the southwestern corner of Victoria Island, near Cape Hamilton, he visited a settlement of thirteen families. Rae was much impressed by the respect with which the Eskimos treated his caches; they had visited some which he left on the coast but had not touched the contents.

McClure was the next navigator to fall in with the Copper Eskimos, early [543] in 1851. His ship was wintering in Prince of Wales Strait, between Victoria Island and Banks Island, and a sledge party met some natives at the southern entrance of the strait. Collinson, his fellow explorer, spent the following winter, 1851-1852, in Walker Bay on

the western coast of Victoria Island, and about fifty Eskimos built their snow huts beside his ship. As soon as the ice broke up in the summer he sailed eastward through Coronation Gulf and established a winter base in Cambridge Bay. Rae had seen many Eskimo caches in this place two years before, but Collinson met the natives themselves. Between two and three hundred of them spent the winter in the vicinity of his ship, which they visited at intervals for several months."

"Hanbury's Journey

This voyage of Collinson marks the end of the first period of exploration. Beginning with Franklin's search for a Northwest Pass[illegible] exploration had been continued by searchers for Franklin himself; and, when the discoveries of McClintock and Rae had cleared up all doubt as to his fate and established the existence but extreme difficulty of a Northwest Passage, interest in Arctic exploration waned. For fifty years Coronation Gulf remained unvisited; then, in 1902, the traveler-sportsman David Hanbury made a journey from Hudson Bay north to the Arctic coast and west to the mouth of the Coppermine, which he ascended to Great Bear Lake and the Mackenzie River. On this remarkable journey Hanbury encountered many small bands of Eskimos, of whom, as well as of the country through which he passed, he has left a detailed and valuable account."

"Visits of Stefansson and Bernard

Three years after Hanbury's journey a Danish trapper and trader, Captain Klengenberg, driven by the competition of rival traders in northern Alaska and the Mackenzie to seek new fields to the eastward, wintered with his small schooner, the Olga, in the vicinity of Cape Kendall on the southeastern corner of Victoria Island. A party of Eskimos visited his ship for three days and then disappeared to the north again. Two years afterwards, 1907-1908, an American whaler, Captain Mogg, wintered in Minto Inlet and met some of the Eskimos there. It was the strange reports that these two adventurers carried west with them again that induced Vilhjalmur Stefansson to re-explore this forgotten region; and in 1910, traveling by sled along the coast, he visited the Eskimos of Dolphin and Union Strait and western Coronation Gulf, then, like most of the earlier explorers, ascended the Coppermine River to Great Bear Lake. Accompanied by Dr. R.M. Anderson, he returned in the following year and visited also the natives of Prince Albert Sound. In this same year, 1911, one of the great modern pioneers of the Arctic, Captain Joseph Bernard, sailed into Coronation Gulf with his schooner, the Teddy Bear, and remained for three years in the Copper Eskimo country. His first winter, 1910-1911, was spent at the Kogaryuak River a few miles east of the Coppermine; his second, 1912-1913, in Bernard Harbor, in Dolphin and Union Strait; and the last, 1913-1914, in a little bight behind Cape Kendall on Victoria Island."

Later Contacts

"Up to this period the Copper Eskimos, from fear of the Indians, had avoided the shores of Great Bear Lake, or had skirted only its northeastern extremity. But from 1908 to 1911 two Englishmen, C. D. Melvill and John Hornby, settled on the lake, and the Eskimos began to visit them for trade. Melvill returned south in 1911, but Hornby remained for three years longer. In 1911 Father Rouvier established a mission to the Eskimos near the Dismal Lakes, where Father Le Roux joined him in 1912. In 1912 also two brothers, G. M. and L. D. Douglas, accompanied by the geologist Dr. Sandberg, fell in with a number of Eskimos during the course of an investigation into the copper deposits of the Coppermine valley; and two other white men, Harry Radford and George Street, traveled overland from Hudson Bay to Bathurst Inlet, where a misunderstanding arose with the natives, and the two were murdered. The same fate befell Father Rouvier and Father Le Roux in the following year, when they followed the Eskimos to the mouth of the Coppermine River. In 1914 Mr. D'Arcy Arden, a well-known traveler in the north, established himself at Great Bear Lake to trade with the Indians and Eskimos and visited the mouth of the Coppermine two years later with a patrol of the Royal North West Mounted Police. In 1914, the [545] Canadian Arctic Expedition arrived in the

country, the southern party making its headquarters at Bernard Harbor in Dolphin and Union Strait, and the northern party at Cape Kellett on Banks Island."

"Canadian Arctic Expedition

The entrance of the Canadian Arctic Expedition was the signal for a regular tide of immigration. Its southern party left the country in 1916. In the spring of that year the Royal North West Mounted Police sent in a patrol to arrest the murderers of the two priests. In 1917 another patrol went in from Hudson Bay, and in 1919 a police post was established at Tree River in Coronation Gulf. In 1916 Bernard Harbor, abandoned a month before by the Canadian Arctic Expedition, was occupied by an Anglican mission and the Hudson's Bay Company; while Captain Klengenberg, who had wintered twelve years before on Victoria Island, settled at the mouth of the Coppermine River, and Captain J. Bernard, returning from the west, made the Kogaryuak River his winter quarters again. Farther to the north, at Minto Inlet on Victoria Island, a party of adventurers from Alaska spent the winter, but their leader Wittenberg was arrested at Herschel Island in the summer of 1917 and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for falsification of customs papers. In 1917 Captain Bernard sailed east to Taylor Island, where he spent the next two winters traveling among the natives around the little-known Queen Maud's Sea; he returned to the Kogaryuak River in 1919 and in 1920 sailed back to Alaska. Meanwhile the Hudson's Bay Company was strengthening its hold on the country by establishing two more trading posts, one near Tree River in 1919, the other in

Melville Sound behind Kent Peninsula in the same year. Its rival, the Northern Trading Company was expected to establish a post at Tree River this last winter, 1920-1921. In addition to these, the Roman Catholic Church in 1918 reopened its mission near the Dismal Lakes for the instruction of those Eskimos who wander up the Coppermine River during the summer."

"Relation with the Eskimos to the West

Such, in brief outline, is the history of the exploration of the Coronation Gulf country. A few words are necessary about its connection with the Eskimo regions to the west. Less than a century ago there had been frequent intercourse between the Copper Eskimos and their western kinsmen around Cape Bathurst, but this was broken off as soon as trading posts were established in the delta of the Mackenzie River. During the last few years, however, the western natives, more or less civilized from a century's contact with white men, have been renewing their old connection with the Copper Eskimos. Some have gone in as servants and interpreters to the traders and missionaries and married the women of the country. Several Copper Eskimos, on the other hand, have been taken west to Herschel Island have spent a year or two with the Mackenzie Eskimos before returning home[546] Thus a double pressure has been brought to bear on the Coronation Gulf natives, and their culture is fast breaking down under the strain of the new conditions. Let us briefly recall the old culture."

"Old Culture of the Copper Eskimos

The geographical center of the Copper Eskimos' country may be taken as Coronation Gulf, but they extend from Dolphin and Union Strait and Prince Albert Sound in the west to Kent Peninsula and Albert Edward Bay in the east. In 1916 their total number was roughly estimated at between 700 and 800, scattered in groups of from 20 to 100 in different districts. For food these Eskimos depended on seals in winter, caribou and fish in summer; hence while they were able to concentrate in settlements on the sea ice from November to April, the rest of the year they were dispersed into small bands of from two to eight persons in order to scour the land for the scattered herds of caribou. Wood is extremely scarce throughout this region except inland in the valleys of the Coppermine and Tree Rivers, and so wooden dwellings such as are used by the natives to the west were unknown; the Copper Eskimos lived in snow huts throughout the winter months, and moved into tents of caribou skin in the warm days of spring. For clothing they wore caribou-skin coats shaped very much like a European dress coat, short in front and with a long swallow-tail behind; a hood, attached at the back, pulled over the head like a cap; they had short caribou-skin stockings that extended up under them. Over the stockings they wore in winter white sealskin shoes that fastened around the ankles, but in summer they had waterproof boots of the same material that fastened below the knees. The women's dress was much the same as the men's, the main differences being

that in the coat the hood and back and shoulders were enlarged to carry the baby, while the socks and waterproof boots, instead of fitting tightly around the legs, were broad and open and fastened by a long tapering strap into the belt.

Even as late as 1914 the Copper Eskimos were still in what might be called the stone age. Hanbury twelve years earlier had found practically no iron at all in use. For hunting caribou the bow and arrow were universally employed, while for seals there was a harpoon fitted with a copper point. Fish nets were unknown; salmon, trout, and tomcod being either caught with copper hooks at the end of a long line or trapped in stone weirs and speared with tridents having barbs of either copper or antler. No pottery was made; instead, the Eskimos carved rectangular cooking vessels out of soapstone. Heather or dry willow twigs were the usual fuels in summer, but in winter seal oil was burned in shallow soapstone lamps by means of long wicks of cotton grass seed. The only means of transportation were the sled in winter and packing on the back in summer; the kayak was employed for hunting only, while the larger Eskimo skin boat, the umiak, had dropped out of use altogether. [547]

The social and domestic life of the Copper Eskimos was equally primitive. There were no chiefs or persons in authority, even the shamans having no influence beyond that inspired by their personalities and character. Food was shared among all the members of the community, but all other property was held individually. Marriage took

place at an early age but had little permanence until a child was born, when the couple usually settled down for life. Polygamy was rare owing to the preponderance of males over females and the difficulty of supporting more than one wife; while polyandry, though not unknown, was discountenanced because it invariably led to quarrels and even murder. The health of the natives was exceedingly good, the only conspicuous ailments apparently being simple colds, which affected them transiently each autumn when they moved from tents into the more tightly-sealed snow huts, and some derangement of the stomach that may have been ptomaine poisoning. The average longevity seems to have been about sixty years, and the women were as fertile perhaps as other races; but the natural increase due to the birth rate was overbalanced by the extraordinary frequency of infanticide. This, together with the frequency of murder and the prevalence of the blood feud, constituted the most serious blot on the social life of these Eskimos."

"Striking Change in Material Culture

Such, in brief, was the culture of the Copper Eskimos at the time of their discovery. It persisted almost unchanged down to 1914 when the Canadian Arctic Expedition entered the country. Iron, it is true, had become more abundant, but copper was still freely used for everything except knives and harpoon points. Five rifles had been introduced during the three preceding years; but their owners had exhausted all their ammunition, and every hunter still depended on his bow and arrows to procure him food and clothing and shelter during the summer months. Since 1916, however, the revolution has been rapid and complete. At the present day there is hardly a bow in the country, almost every hunter possessing a high-powered rifle. Copper is no longer used except for rivets and for the manufacture of spurious antiques. The cooking vessels of stone have yielded to iron pots and caldrons, which are both lighter to carry and less fragile; but the stone lamps still hold their ground, since no other material is so suited to the burning of blubber fuel. Cloth tents are slowly but surely replacing the tents of seal and caribou skin; occasionally a sheet-iron stove is found inside them, despite the dearth of firewood. Even the native style of dress is changing; instead of the long frock coat, the Copper Eskimos are adopting the less picturesque garment of the western natives, which is cut straight round the bottom and reaches to the thighs. It is perhaps a more rational garment on the whole, as it affords better protection to the front of the body; but the

long tight-fitting trousers reaching to the ankles that many of the men are beginning to wear, copying the western model, are certainly less healthful [548] than the old-fashioned breeches that protected the limbs without restricting the circulation of air. Cloth overalls also are common."

"Changed Habits of Hunting

It is not only the material culture of the Copper Eskimo that has been revolutionized by the new conditions but their manner of life as well. For the first time in their history they have come into contact with the fur trade, and all their energies are being directed to the trapping of foxes and other fur-bearing animals. Money as yet has little or no value in their eyes, their main requirements being rifles and ammunition, iron tools, and cloth for tents and clothing. In former years their lives had followed a regular cycle of change, November to April being passed on the sea ice in the hunting of seals, and the remainder of the year on the land in hunting caribou and fishing for trout and salmon. Now even this has been altered; for, since fox trapping can be carried on profitably only on land and only during the winter months when the furs of animals are in their prime, there is every inducement for the Eskimos to shorten their stay on the ice and depend on caribou for food instead of seals. In the winter of 1919-1920 only about half the natives around Dease Strait settled on the sea ice to hunt seals. The remainder were hunting caribou and trapping foxes on Kent Peninsula, purchasing the blubber they required for their lamps from the Hudson's Bay Company's agent in Melville Sound, who in turn purchased it from the natives on the ice. Naturally the possession of high-powered rifles has greatly facilitated the possibilities of caribou

hunting at all seasons of the year, but the unfortunate feature of the case is that, whereas the seals appear to be almost inexhaustible, the caribou are rapidly diminishing in numbers year by year. According to Captain J. Bernard, caribou were very numerous around the Kogaryuak River in the fall of 1910 and spring of 1911, and many remained in the vicinity throughout the winter; but in the season of 1916-1917 their number was reduced by more than half, and none remained through the winter. In the spring of 1920 he estimated the caribou migrating across Coronation Gulf at about one-tenth the number there had been in 1910. In fact, judging from the intensity with which they are being hunted and the diminution in the herds during the last ten years, he came to the conclusion that in another ten years they will be almost exterminated in this region."

"Wider Range of Migration

Not only has there been a change in the mode of life during the last few years, but the range of migration has been extended. Throughout the nineteenth century, while the north and west of Canada were being explored and settled, the region of Coronation Gulf was left in lonely isolation. Five hundred miles of barren coast line separated the Copper Eskimos from their nearest neighbors to the west, and hostile Indians barred the road south- [549] ward; on the north was an uninhabited archipelago; while to the east, dotted at wide intervals along a coast not very prolific in game, were Eskimos almost equally primitive and therefore seldom encountered. But the establishment of trading posts at Great Bear Lake within the last ten years has beckoned the Eskimos southward. In 1919 one family even reached Fort Norman on the Mackenzie, while others were wandering far inland nearly to the shores of Great Slave Lake. The Indians, dominated by the white man, have ceased to be a barrier; indeed some Tree River Eskimos in the summer of 1916 traveled south to the upper reaches of the Coppermine River for the express purpose of trading with Dog-rib Indians from Fort Rae, and in 1917 a band of seventeen Indians descended to the mouth of the Coppermine to trade, the first time for 150 years they had ventured to approach the Arctic coast. The renewed connection between Coronation Gulf and the Mackenzie Delta I have mentioned already, but even

the Hudson Bay region has been brought perceptibly nearer. Three parties of white men have crossed over from Chesterfield Inlet to Coronation Gulf, and there is now frequent intercourse between the Copper Eskimos and the natives inland from Hudson Bay. The barriers that kept the country isolated for so many centuries have at last broken down, and civilization has gathered one more primitive people within its fold."

"Social and Religious Changes

But how has the social and religious life of the Copper Eskimos been affected by this new civilization? The adoption of its external trappings, of the white man's clothing and the white man's pipe, can never change a native into a European. Life in the Arctic must always be different from life elsewhere, if for no other reason than that the population in places so remote as Coronation Gulf must be nomadic, depending largely on hunting and fishing to supply the necessaries of life. There can be no large permanent villages. The fundamental unit of society is the family—the man, his wife, and their children—and a unit of this kind is hardly susceptible of change. No organized system of government had ever been evolved, and the imposition of white control does not favor such an evolution. The arrest of four or five natives has effectively abolished indiscriminate murder and the practice of the blood feud and so increased the security of life; moreover the teachings of the missionaries and the warnings of the police have diminished infanticide to such an extent that the number of babies in the different communities has increased remarkably. But in all other respects social life has undergone little change. The spirit of hospitality still holds sway in every household; and friend and stranger, even the white trader and the white policeman, meet with an equal welcome. In the winter evenings the dance houses still resound with singing and

drumming as of old; but mingled with the dance songs are missionary hymns, while shamanistic rites and the cheerless propitiation of imaginary demons are rapidly fading away before the more comforting light of the gospel."

(No date) 1921 Copper Eskimo

"The Outlook

Looking to the future, what is to be the fate of the Copper Eskimos, supposing they survive, as many of them probably will, the inroad of our diseases? Already they are becoming dependent on the outside world for tools and hunting weapons and camp equipment. A quarter of a century hence, it is safe to say, there will be practically no caribou at all in their country. Then, unless herds of domesticated reindeer are successfully imported and the natives trained to take care of them, either they will be forced to migrate elsewhere or, what is far more likely, they will become absolutely dependent on the outside world for clothing and to some extent also for food. Seals, no doubt, will always be plentiful, and the rivers and lakes will continue to abound with fish; but as in the case of their kinsmen in Greenland and Alaska, tea and sugar and flour and rice and other cereals will become as necessary to them as meat. Then, instead of a hardy primitive race of hunters living its own independent life, we shall have scattered groups of trappers, enslaved economically to the great world south of them, while at the same time will ensue profound changes in blood and speech through progressive intermingling with the white men."

"Introduction of the White Man's Diseases

Apart then from the gradual extermination of the caribou we might be tempted to say that civilization has brought nothing but blessings to the Copper Eskimos. Unhappily the case is far otherwise. Wherever the white man goes he carries his own peculiar diseases, and these are the more fatal to native races inasmuch as they have not had time to develop a partial immunity. In 1734 and 1735, 2,000 Greenland Eskimos were carried off by smallpox, and about that time the same plague ravaged the Labrador Eskimos also. Farther west, in the Mackenzie Delta, the population thirty years ago was estimated at 2,000; today it is barely 500. Wherever on the American continent the Eskimos have come into contact with Europeans, there we find pneumonia and tuberculosis and various other diseases. The Coronation Gulf natives alone remained untouched until four short years ago. Since then one native has died of what was diagnosed by a missionary as tuberculosis, another advanced case is reported from the Coppermine River, and the last news that has come out of the country announces the outbreak of typhoid in the fall of 1920. The introduction of other diseases is apparently only a matter of time. Possibly they could be checked by the establishment of some kind of quarantine such as the Danes instituted for Greenland; the experiment, at all events, would be well worth trying."

24: Jenness--89
116, 177

(No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"In the number of the American Anthropoligist for July-September, 1921, Mr. Cadzow requested a little more information concerning my criticisms of some of the Copper Eskimo specimens he collected at Fort Norman in 1919 and illustrated in his paper 'Native Copper Objects of the Copper Eskimo' (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920). He questions the statement that 'for nearly twenty years the Copper Eskimos have been in almost continuous contact with the white man.' If he will refer to Chapter II of my book 'The Life of the Copper Eskimo,' just published as Vol. XII of the Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, or to my article 'The Cultural Transformation of the Copper Eskimos' in the Geographical Review, Vol. XI October 1921, pp. 543-545, he will find that from 1902 until the present time, when David Hanbury visited the country, the only years in which the Copper Eskimos did not come into contact with white men were 1903-5 and 1907, only four years. Moreover this does not take into account the visits of earlier explorers in the nineteenth century, Franklin in 1821, Dease and Simpson in 1839, Richardson in 1848, Rae from 1848 to 1850, McClure in 1851, and Collinson from 1851 to 1853."

24: Jenness--89-90
116, 177

(No date)1922

Copper Eskimo

"Mr. Cadzow enquires further where these Eskimos found a market for copper objects they were manufacturing for sale in Coronation Gulf in 1911. Their market was with Captain Joseph F. Bernard, of the schooner Teddy Bear, who sailed into Coronation Gulf in the summer of 1910, just after Mr. Stefánsson's hurried sled trip along the coast. Captain Bernard spent three years among the Copper Eskimos at this time, 1910-11 and 1912-14, trading extensively for furs and ethnological specimens. In the spring of 1911 his schooner, which had wintered at the mouth of the Kugaryuak River about 18 miles east of the Coppermine, was visited by Mr. Stefánsson and Dr. R.M. Anderson. Near the vessel was camped a band of Eskimos, many of whom were manufacturing copper implements [90] for sale. Dr. Anderson actually observed some of the stages in the manufacture of the copper tomahawk I mentioned. Not being a genuine article, but modelled after the Hudson's Bay Company's type commonly used by the northern Indians, he refused to buy it from its maker."

24: Jenness--90
116, 177, 326, 411

(No date) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Even before the time of Captain Bernard's visit the Copper Eskimos had acquired a considerable amount of iron, but his extensive trading resulted in total disuse of copper for harpoons and knives, although it persisted a little longer in arrows and in the implements employed in fishing. My scouring of Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf between 1914 and 1916 resulted in the finding of only one genuine harpoon with a copper point, one copper snow-knife, and three women's knives of copper; even these were no longer used by their owners. Between 1916 and 1920 Captain Bernard, on his second visit, was able to secure about half a dozen more from the eastern end of Coronation Gulf and from Dease Strait. By 1920, Captain Bernard informs me, bows and arrows had disappeared, and the natives had ceased to use copper at all except for rivets and the manufacture of specimens for sale."

24: Jenness--90-91 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 411

"The Eskimos of the Coppermine River region were affected by this intercourse earlier than any other group from 1908 onwards, since they were able to trade with white men at Great Bear Lake. I spent several weeks among them between 1914 and 1916 without finding a single copper knife or harpoon that had been in genuine use. From 1916 onwards Captain Bernard purchased every bow and arrow set and every copper implement that he could find, except those expressly manufactured for sale. During the same period the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, which has several posts in the country, the Anglican missionaries, and the members of the Royal North West Mounted Police were ransacking the territory for the few 'curios' that remained. It is very improbable, therefore, to say the least, that a family of natives from the vicinity of the Coppermine River should have retained a full supply of copper implements down to 1919, or that they should have carried them inland as far as Fort Norman (especially their sealing gear, which is always left on the coast), unless these articles had been manufactured for sale. We may take it for granted that the majority of Mr. Cadzow's specimens were so manufactured. Now an article made expressly for sale may be as valuable ethnologically as one that has been in genuine use for years. The danger is that the native [91] is very apt to depart from the old types and introduce new patterns and materials in oder to secure a higher price from his customers. I asserted that this

had actually occured in one of Mr. Cadzow's specimens, the knife figured in Plate Va, and probably in a second, the harpoon of Plate IXd."

24: Jenness--91 (No date) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 177, 391, 411

'Mr. Cadzow now draws my attention to the copper-bladed knife illustrated in 'The Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition,' Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIV, fig. 46, and points out its resemblance to his own specimen. He will find several more examples of the same type in the Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa, and probably elsewhere as well. Their history is as follows. The Eskimos who traded with Captain Bernard were manufacturing implements for sale as early as 1911, for example non-clasping copper pen-knives, large curved knives like our butchers' knives with only one edge (their own copper knives were always two-edged), and the type of copper knife figured by Mr. Stefánsson and Mr. Cadzow. Captain Bernard was too conscientious a collector to encourage the industry, and the natives brought me many specimens that he had refused to buy, confessing that they had been manufactured for sale and were not native to their own culture. The uselessness of these knives was shown by the fact that they were never employed by their owners except in an emergency. Mr. Stefánsson evidently obtained his specimen in 1911 from a native who had come under the influence of the new trade."

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[P. 1]

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE COPPER ESKIMO

INTRODUCTION

In 1914, when the Canadian Arctic Expedition established its headquarters at Bernard Harbour in Dolphin and Union Strait, on the western fringe of Copper Eskimo territory, the natives preserved their old culture, virtually unimpaired, despite contact with several explorers in the middle of the nineteenth century, and with others during the early years of the twentieth. The only visible change caused by these contacts was the introduction of a considerable quantity of iron, which the Eskimo hammered cold, as they hammered their native copper, and had already substituted for copper in knives, adzes, harpoon heads, and needles. From lack of ammunition the only men who possessed rifles, five in number, had fallen back on the bow and arrow, which was still the universal weapon of the chase. Of the arrows not tipped with bone about two-thirds bore tips of hammered copper and only one-third tips of iron; the ice chisel and other tools retained their copper blades and points; and the soapstone pot for cooking meat held undisputed sway in every household. All clothing was of skin or fur, mainly from the caribou and the seal; and in cut and adornment it followed without change the styles set by earlier generations. The blubber of the seal, burned in a soapstone lamp, provided the only artificial light, and throughout the winter months all the energies of the Eskimo were concentrated on the pursuit of seals at their breathing holes in the sea ice.

Ten years later the situation had undergone a profound change. Native copper had become practically valueless and served for rivets only. Bows and arrows had disappeared, because every native was now armed with a high-powered rifle. Other weapons and tools had steel or iron blades, metal cooking pots had ousted the soapstone vessels, and primus lamps and kerosene lanterns were spreading from home to home. Fur clothing was tending to follow western Eskimo patterns, and to be overlaid with bead-work, or with imported garments of cotton or wool. Dissatisfied with the old-fashioned snow-hut and skin-covered kayak, one native had even erected a plank cabin heated by an iron stove, and purchased a motor-boat to transport his household goods along the coast during the brief summer months. The tentacles of the fur trade had firmly gripped the region, and the trapping of foxes, animals of no economic importance in earlier times, now rivalled in importance the hunting of seals and caribou.

Fortunately, before this revolution occurred, the Canadian Arctic Expedition had brought out a large collection of Copper Eskimo specimens, nearly all of which are now stored in the National Museum at Ottawa. These specimens, and

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

CHAPTER I

MATERIAL RESOURCES

Few people have been called upon to sustain life and perpetuate their race on such meagre resources as the Copper Eskimo. Even if they had been acquainted with agriculture the climate debarred it, just as it debarred the growth of trees except in two or three sheltered valleys along the southern fringe of their territory. It restricted not only the flora but the fauna, leaving the natives dependent for their food and for much of their equipment on one land animal, the seasonally migrating caribou, and two sea mammals, the foetid and the bearded seals, supplemented by such fish as they could capture in rivers, lakes, and bays. Ignorant of all metals except their native copper, which seemed to them only a malleable stone, and cut off from contact with any but neighbouring tribes, little or no more advanced than themselves, they had to build up their lives on the scanty resources provided by their own narrow environment, and rely on their own ingenuity to supply all their needs.

The resources provided by their environment fall naturally into four groups:

Wood
Stone (including native copper and other minerals)
Bone, antler, horn, ivory
Hides and sinew.

WOOD

The Copper Eskimo obtained their wood from two sources. First, there was the driftwood, mainly spruce and cottonwood, carried to the ocean by Mackenzie River far to the westward and borne by the winds and currents to Dolphin and Union Strait and western bays of Victoria Island. Then in the valleys of three rivers that flowed into Coronation Gulf, Coppermine, Napaktauktauk, and Tree, there stood scattered groves of spruce, small and stunted, a few miles from the coast, but larger as one proceeded south. Far to the southeast, too, near Thelon River, were other stands of spruce that the Eskimo from Bathurst Inlet and from the eastern shores of Victoria Island occasionally visited in their wanderings. Thus the Copper Eskimo had abundant wood to satisfy all their needs; but as driftwood was very scarce in many districts, and the standing timber on the southern fringe of their territory could be reached only after a long journey overland, which many natives were disinclined to make, manufactured objects of wood were among the commonest articles of trade and passed freely from one end of the territory to the other. Moreover, so crude were the Eskimo tools, and so great the labour of cutting down the trees and hewing the timber into shape, that any object of moderate size, such as a sled-runner, a table, or even a tent-pole, commanded a high price.[1]

The principal tools used in working wood were the adze and the whittling knife (*See* pp. 100 and 103). Bone or antler wedges, generally made for each occasion and immediately discarded, served to split small logs and planks; they were driven home with boulders. Lacking saws, the Eskimo shortened a plank in one or other of three ways: they hacked it with the adze; gouged it across with the grooving tool (*See* p. 100); or they drilled a line of holes across it with the bow drill.

[1] Cf. Stefansson, V.: The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition: Anth. Papers, Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 31, 69 *f.* et al., New York, 1914.

412 Two incidents that came directly under my notice in the summer of 1915
322 were fairly typical. A native with whom I was travelling in southwest Victoria Island discovered on the beach a long, nail-studded plank that had presumably fallen overboard from some vessel. He carried it several miles inland to our camp, and there spent half a day splitting it into poles for fish-spear handles, two of which he sold to a kinsman. A few days later another native found a second plank, which he proposed to convert into a sled-runner, and with this purpose in view trimmed it slightly with his hunting knife. After consulting his companions, however, he decided that a new sled-runner was not needed, so he turned the [239] plank over to his stepfather to fashion into tent-poles. In each case the native split the plank with a crude antler wedge driven home by a boulder.

322 The uses of wood were naturally manifold. From it were made the sled,
[372] the tent-poles, the frame of the kayak, the snow shovel, the table, food trays, and other articles too numerous to mention. Odd chips of wood sometimes
824 served as fuel during the summer months, although the Eskimo preferred
513 heather or willow twigs. Willow twigs had a special use; sewn together in a long strip they provided a mattress to protect the bedskins from the snow.

STONE

333 Stone (apart from native copper) played an astonishingly small rôle in the economy of the Copper Eskimo. Their winter home was invariably the snow-
[342] hut, although their predecessors in the region had dwelt in huts of snow or wood, whose ruins could still be traced in numerous places along the coast. Loose stone boulders held down the edges of the Copper Eskimo tents; pillars of stone (in many cases flat slabs of dolomite easily piled one on top of another) supported kayaks, sleds, and other goods that were temporarily abandoned during the summer months; and heaped-up boulders protected caches of meat or clothes from the ravages of foxes, wolves, and birds; but any real construc-
324 tion in stone was conspicuously lacking. There were no stone knives or adzes,
412 no arrow heads tipped with stone, no stone sinkers for fishing lines or nets, and no stone scrapers for use on wood or hides, although implements of all these types had been used by the earlier inhabitants and were sometimes gathered as curiosities by the Copper Eskimo themselves. There were stone hammers and whetstones, it is true, but these were merely unshaped pebbles picked up when
[415] the need arose and afterwards discarded. In short, stone provided the material
[354] for two objects only, the lamp and the cooking pot; and the stone cooking pot
[177] was discarded soon after our visit in favour of iron vessels brought in from the outside.

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Figure 1. Lamp of native copper. IV.D.1641. 1/1.

324 These two vessels, the lamp and the cooking pot, were invariably made from
415 soapstone (tale chlorite schist), originally with copper-bladed adzes, but in our
354 time with adzes of iron. Freshly quarried soapstone readily scratches with the
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[135]

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
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fingernail, so that the labour of manufacturing even a large vessel was comparatively slight, never requiring more than a few days. We saw no pots made of any other material, but from Prince Albert Sound we obtained two lamps, one fashioned from a red sandstone, the other from an igneous rock, that could hardly have been hollowed out with adzes in the ordinary way, but must have been shaped by some pecking and grinding process. Their owners knew nothing about their manufacture, and there is good reason to believe that they were not made by the Copper Eskimo, but came in from Hudson Bay.[1]

As stated in the introduction, the natives considered their amygdaloidal copper,[2] which took the place of stone, bone, or ivory in so many of their implements, as merely a peculiar stone that they could work into shape, cold, by hammering with boulders and pebbles (Figure 1). Whether they were able to drill copper before they obtained iron is uncertain; if so, they must have used stone- or copper-pointed drills. In our time they still retained one or two of these copper-pointed drills, but used them, so far as we observed, only on bone, antler, and wood.

The only important mineral besides copper was iron pyrites, which the Eskimo gathered mainly in the beds of two streams, Kugaluk River in the southwest of Victoria Island and a creek a few miles east of Coppermine River. There were other sources, however, that I failed to record. This mineral served the natives instead of flint and steel for striking fire. They possessed also a few fragments of galena (Figure 2) and litharge, which they used for marking skin and wood; the galena came mostly from Galena Point in Bathurst Inlet, but the source, or sources, of the litharge is not known.

Figure 2. Lump of galena, used for marking skins. IV.D.300. 1/1.

BONE, ANTLER, HORN, IVORY

The caribou and the musk-ox supplied nearly all the bone that the Copper Eskimo required, although for shoeing the runners of their sleds they used rib bones from occasional whales that drifted up on their shores. There was hardly a bone in the two land animals that could not be turned to some purpose. Leg bones were in special demand for skin stretchers, for needle-cases, and for sheathing the wooden ends of harpoon shafts; another type of skin stretcher was fashioned from a caribou or musk-ox shoulder blade. The ribs served for handles of various kinds, for small toggles, pins, and bows for the drilling set. Other toggles were made from the breast or pelvic bones, and the astragalus provided a ready made mouthpiece for the drill.

The caribou alone provided antler, which was just as useful as bone, and interchangeable with that material for most purposes. On the other hand, ivory, which Eskimo elsewhere often substituted for bone and antler, was extremely rare, because neither the narwhal nor the walrus frequents the waters adjacent to the Copper Eskimo territory; consequently, the few ivory objects we saw among the natives almost certainly reached them by trade from the east or the west. Sheep likewise were absent, so that all the horn in use came from the musk-ox. This horn sometimes took the place of bone or antler, but it was especially prized for the manufacture of ladles, scoops, drinking horns, toggles for the sled, and hammers for pounding blubber.

Originally the Copper Eskimo used only four tools, all with copper blades, for shaping bone, antler, and horn, viz., the adze, the whittling knife, the grooving

[1] See p. 66.

[2] For the sources of this copper see Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 22; vol. XI, pt. A, p. 33 *et seq.*

together again. Heel crimping was naturally confined almost entirely to the more decorative shoes. When not crimped, this type usually had one seam up the middle of the heel, whereas the plainer type frequently had two and even three.

A casing of sealskin (more rarely, caribou skin), undressed, and sometimes not even dehaired, was sewn round the top of the shoe to hold a cord of plaited sinew (*singiq*) that emerged through two holes at the back and tied in a bow over the instep. Two large patches of sealskin, dehaired but undressed, covered the whole or almost the whole of the sole, giving it double thickness; and whenever a hole wore in either patch, another was promptly superimposed on it. These patches had to be sewn on with concealed stitches that caught only the under surface, because the thread would quickly fray and break if it penetrated to the outside. Natives who anticipated considerable walking on glare ice or very hard, firmly packed snow sometimes added also narrow, meandering patches —"crepers"—to give them secure foothold (Figure 10c).

In the autumn of 1915, when the party with which I was travelling was still hunting inland, an Eskimo induced his wife to make him a pair of caribou-fur overshoes and to reinforce them with extra soles of sealskin. From another native I obtained a similar pair of caribou-fur overshoes that bore outer soles of dehaired caribou skin, and, over the outer soles, patches of sealskin. These were probably copied from the shoes of the inland Eskimo to the southeast, where they were invariably made from caribou fur, as the Copper Eskimo well knew. Around Coronation Gulf they were regarded with disfavour for ordinary use, because, although warmer, they readily soaked up the damp from the half-thawing floor of the snow-hut and immediately shed their fur. They were more practicable among the inland Eskimo, whose snow-huts were not so warm, because, lacking seal oil, they burned caribou fat in their lamps, which served in the main for lighting only.

Figure 11. Man's spring boot. IV.D.1929. 1/4.

Spring and Summer Boots. Sealskin shoes were excellent for winter wear, but against the soft deep snow of early spring quite inadequate. The Eskimo, therefore, substituted for them long boots of sealskin (*natchik*), furred on the outside of the legs but dehaired on the feet (Figure 11). They reached to just below the knees, and were there tightly bound with a sinew cord that passed through a casing, generally made with an extra band of sealskin, but occasionally by merely sewing down the edge. When carefully made and saturated from time to time with seal oil, the feet of these boots were soft but quite waterproof, although the uppers were somewhat rigid. However, toward the end of spring, when the snow had largely melted, the streams were running, and pools of water lay everywhere, the Eskimo changed to their real waterboots (*iperautik*) (Figure 12), which were similar in shape, but dehaired throughout their entire

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
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Many women attached to the bottom of the outer coat, in the very middle of the front, a triangular piece of fur, brown, white, or brown with white insertions. With the white gusset in the front of the trousers, and the white or coloured edges of the outer stocking, this gave a series of more or less symmetrical triangles inside one another, all having the bottom edge of the coat for their bases (Figure 27). The same triangular appendage sometimes appeared on men's coats also, but much more rarely, because, standing isolated, it could not produce the same decorative effect.

Figure 27. Outline of the white insertions on the upper edges of women's outer stockings, on the front of the trousers, and on the bottom of the coat, showing the symmetrical V patterns, one inside the other.

As common, or almost as common as this triangular appendage was a long, narrow, rectangular one, fringed, like the bottom edge of the coat, with white fur. Here the dark line of appendage fur merely continued the dark line down the middle of the coat.[1]

The decoration of women's outer coats generally coincided with that on men's, except that white armbands encircled the forearms instead of the upper arms. A coat from Bathurst Inlet offered the most striking variation; down the middle of the front it carried the regular tattooing design, a Y flanked on each side by an I, produced by narrow bands of red-stained skin that were edged and dotted with running stitches of white skin in such a way as to give the impression of embroidery (Figure 28). One or two other women in the same district wore coats modelled after those in vogue among the inland Eskimo to the southeast; that is to say, they were of nearly equal length back and front, slit up the sides, edged with close-set fringes of dehaired caribou thongs, and provided with hoods about half as long again as those normally current among the Copper Eskimo.

[1] See Plate IX A, Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 80.

304 female friend or relative. There seemed to be no compulsion in the matter
[626] beyond public opinion and a woman's natural desire to follow the current methods of adornment. A young married woman in the Tree River group refused to allow her face to be tattooed at all on the ground that the process was too
[832] painful; but as she was only 17 years of age her aversion may have been overcome later. The average girl was rather eager to be tattooed in order to increase her charms.

The Copper Eskimo employed the process usual among other Eskimo tribes; they passed under the skin a copper sewing needle threaded with sinew dipped in lampblack. For dots, however, and sometimes also for lines, they did not thread the needle (but inserted into the puncture a sharp wooden stick dipped in lampblack. Only a few marks could be made at one time because the operation was very painful. Most girls began on the backs of the hands and on the forehead.

304 The designs consisted of series of parallel lines, zigzag and spur bands. On
531 the face the usual marks were double V's in the middle of the forehead, two or three connected "spurs" running from the corner of each eye, two parallel lines across each cheek, and five lines radiating from the lower lip to the chin (*See*
[177] Figure 44). Three parallel lines on each cheek instead of two, and from six to ten lines on the chin were seen on several women, nearly all of whom came from the eastern end of Coronation Gulf; doubtless, these unusual numbers were due to the influence of the Netsilik Eskimo farther east. On the arms the marks were usually confined to the outer surface (Figure 45); they seldom extended
[755] above the elbow, or completely around the lower arm. Tattooing of the legs, after the manner of the eastern natives, was not practised, although a woman in Dolphin and Union Strait was said to have tattooed two small lines on her thigh to remove a painful swelling. A Prince Albert Sound woman had a short line tattooed on her left breast, for what reason I did not discover.

302 We neither saw nor heard of any painting of the face or body other than a few streaks made in jest with a piece of charcoal.

I feel certain that they were made for sale, either by Copper Eskimos, or, more probably, by western Eskimos who entered their country after 1914. They correctly reproduce the tangless form of the women's knife still current in Mackenzie Delta and in Alaska, a form that was

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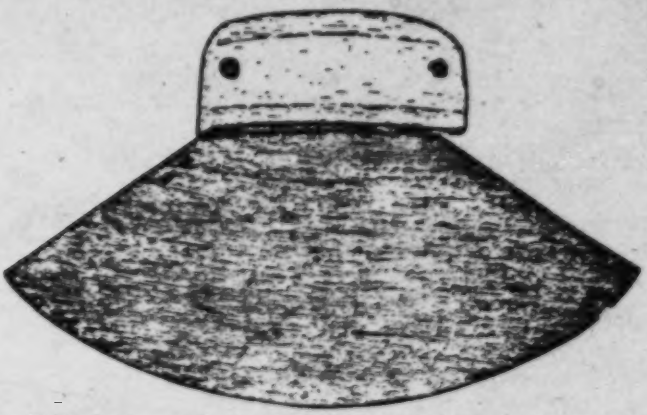

Figure 83. Tangless woman's knife, probably of western Eskimo origin. IV.D.1687. 2/3.

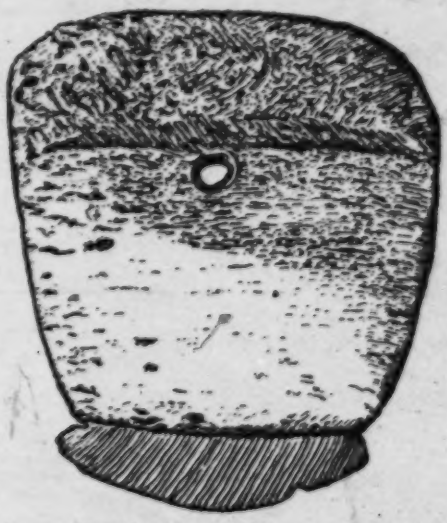

Figure 84. Knife with copper blade, found in old stone house on Victoria Island. IX.D.180. 1/1.

prevalent in prehistoric times in the Copper Eskimo region also, where, in addition to tangless, stone-bladed knives, two copper-bladed ones have been found, one in an old stone house on Victoria Island, the other (Figure 84) in a stone grave on the small Read Island in Dolphin and Union Strait.

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alone was pitted with holes. With constant usage the pits soon perforated right through the bone, when the thimble, ceasing to protect the finger, was thrown away. When steel needles were introduced the wear on the thimble was much greater than with the soft copper needles; consequently, there was quite a demand for metal thimbles, which had the further merit of chafing the finger less than the old bone ones. The metal thimble was then often kept in a tightly fitting bag of skin or cloth tied to the skin containing the needles; but the old bone thimble had a special toggle that is described below.

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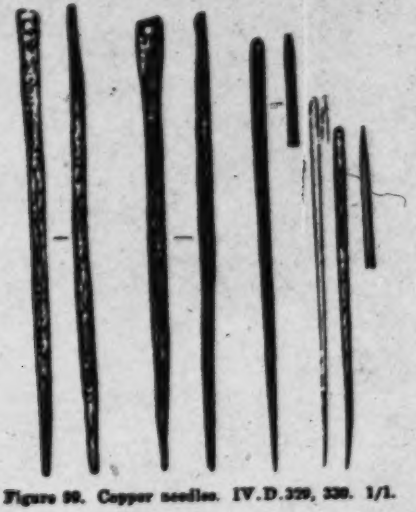

Figure 99. Copper needles. IV.D.329, 330. 1/1.

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A few thimbles are shown in Figures 100 and 101. Figure 100 illustrates the first stage in the manufacture of a bone thimble from a phalangeal bone of a caribou; Figure 101c gives the front view of what was perhaps the commonest variety, although this specimen is pitted on one face only; *b* is a side view of the signet-ring type; *a* is a thimble of musk-ox horn, closed at the top, possibly in imitation of European thimbles.

Figure 100. Unfinished thimble. IV.D.377. 1/1.

Thimble Holders. The thimble holder used with the open-topped bone thimbles was a small toggle made usually from the breast bone of a caribou (Figures 94-97). It always bore the same shape, which resembled somewhat the outstretched wings of a bird; but the length varied from 1½ to 3 inches. A small hole drilled through the middle enabled it to be tied with a sinew thread to the strip of sealskin containing the needles; the thimble merely slipped on over the toggle and dangled on the thread. The toggle provided also a very convenient handle for drawing out the needles, although its name, *tikivik* or "thimble-place", indicates that this was not its primary purpose.

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Pendants to Needle-cases. A marrow spatula was generally attached to the sealskin at the end opposite to the thimble holder to help in drawing the needles inside the case, and to prevent the skin from pulling right out; but sometimes the skin was merely left larger at this end, or carried a button, shaped like the

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Cutting-out Boards. There was no special shape to the board (*qeorvik*) used for cutting and trimming skins, provided only that it was small and flat. The women often carried a board about 6 inches long in their sewing bags.

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Boot Creaser. A special implement, *tiguyaun*, "a tool to grasp", usually just a flattened stick of bone with a dull edge, was used occasionally to crease the toes of the white sealskin shoes. Most women, however, used the nail of the right thumb, and bestowed on it the magnificent name *kamitikaherwiuk*, "my shoe-making tool".

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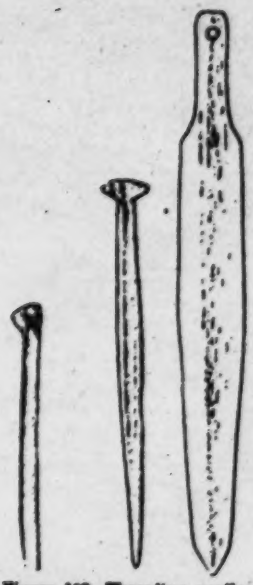

Figure 103. Threading needles. IV.D.808, 161. 1/1.

Figure 104. Scissors, with blades of hoop iron. IV.D.1612. 4/5.

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Marrow Spatula. Spatulæ for removing the marrow from the leg bones of the caribou and musk-ox were attached, as a rule, to the needle-case, or carried by hunters in the bags of their bow-cases. They varied greatly in shape, some showing a resemblance to meat skewers, others to marline-spikes; but they were less massive than the marline-spikes, and their flat, blunt points generally distinguished them from meat skewers. Nearly all were of bone, generally a caribou leg bone, but occasional specimens were of antler or even horn. The handle, drilled with a small hole when attached to the needle-case, was frequently carved into a small oval butt like the butt of the snow knife; or it was notched or serrated. There was rarely any etching of the surface, probably because the implement was too small.

A small assortment of spatulæ is shown in Figure 102. Specimen *f* in that figure is a very unusual form that would hardly have been identified as a spatula had I not seen it in actual use; it was attached to the needle-case of a

young girl. The specimens attached to the needle-case in Figure 93 are considerably shorter than the average. The commonest type was perhaps that shown in Figure 95, where it is also attached to its needle-case.

Threading Needles. Small bone needles were employed for threading a cord through holes in skin, especially for fastening together the front of a tent above the door. In form some of these needles were practically identical with many pins used for closing the blood bag, though the latter were usually longer and terminated in a greater variety of forms. Two threading needles are shown in Figure 103.

Scissors. Probably as early as the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of using scissors for cutting the hair of the head came to the Copper Eskimo from Hudson Bay natives, who acquired European scissors in trade with the Hudson's Bay Company and with whalers. Copper Eskimo specimens of fairly recent date had tin blades mounted with copper rivets on bone or antler. The best example I have seen is illustrated in Figure 104.

Figure 105. Bone awl. IV.D.1778. 1/1.

Awls. To punch holes in skin the Copper Eskimo used any pointed tool that was handy, e.g., the corner of the woman's knife, an arrowhead, a sealing skewer, or, occasionally, a mere splinter of bone. Specially made awls were extremely rare, but a bone one from Cambridge Bay is illustrated in Figure 105.

MEN'S TOOLS

Attached to the hunter's bow-case was a special tool bag to hold spare parts for the bow and arrows, meat skewers, and other implements connected with the chase. This bag naturally became the repository at times of other tools, such as the adze, that were not directly connected with hunting. However, most men

Figure 106. Man's tool bag of caribou fur. IV.D.728. 1/3.

owned a second small tool bag of caribou or other fur (Figure 106), and two or three had wooden boxes put together with iron or copper nails. Tools like the snow sounder and the ice chisel that were too long for any of these receptacles were generally stuck into the ground outside the tent, or into the wall of the snow-hut.

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Figure 107. Man's knife, with copper blade. IV.D.1455. Approx. 1/4.

Knives. The oldest Copper Eskimo knives of which there is any record had large copper blades, lanceolate in form and sharp on both edges. Generally the blade had a tang, which was driven into an antler handle without being riveted, but occasionally there was no tang, the blade being set in a slot and secured with a single copper rivet. The handle was sometimes of two pieces, spliced together and riveted with copper or bone pegs, and the butt was a separate piece of bone, or sometimes musk-ox horn, pegged to the handle. A lashing of sealskin or willow root, which began through a hole in the butt and was wrapped around most of the handle, afforded a better grip than the smooth antler; its loose end passed through another hole and was tucked under one or more bights. A short loop of sealskin was often added in the side of the handle so that the knife could be hung on a button of the coat, or attached to a toggle on the bow-case (Figure 107).

[414]

An excellent specimen of such a knife, collected by Captain Collinson at Cambridge Bay in 1852, is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, England. Another specimen, with a rather shorter blade, collected by Lieutenant Singleton, of H.M.S. *Fox*, from an unknown locality, is in the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London. Others, collected by either Collinson or his colleague McClure on Victoria Island, are desposited in the British Museum. These are the oldest specimens known to me from the Copper Eskimo region. Hanbury collected several similar knives in 1902 between Ogden Bay and Coppermine River, some of which are also in the British Museum.

Even in the nineteenth century a considerable amount of iron found its way into the Copper Eskimo country and was utilized for knives. Figure 108 shows a knife made from iron secured from McClure's ship, the *Investigator*, which was abandoned on Banks Island in 1851. The blades of these early iron knives correspond as nearly as possible to the copper ones; they were lanceolate, and hammered thin on both sides toward the edges. However, early in the twentieth century, European steel knives began to drift in from the south and southeast, and soon afterwards more knives and a quantity of iron entered the country from Great Bear Lake and from the west. The natives then removed the handles from the European knives and mounted them according to their own fashion; but often they left the shape of the blade intact. Accordingly, one found iron-bladed knives that had one or both edges sharp, or else half the back edge sharp and the other half blunt. These iron blades, also, were generally mounted in a slightly different manner from the old copper knives; their tangs were riveted between plates of iron that were riveted in turn to the antler handles.

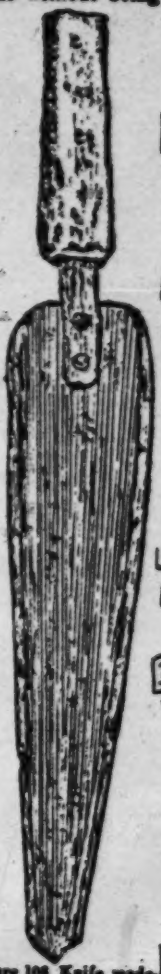

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Figure 108. Knife, made of iron from McClure's ship *Investigator*. IV. D.418. 1/2.

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By 1914 hardly a single copper-bladed knife remained in the country, except specimens that had been manufactured for sale to the first traders, like those shown in Figure 109. All the Copper Eskimo were using iron knives of various sizes and shapes, some with small blades and long handles, others with long blades and short handles, some single-edged and some two-edged (Figure 110). Specialization in types was beginning. For cutting snow, knives with long handles and long blades were accounted the most useful; for skinning caribou and seals, knives with shorter handles and blades of medium length. Some natives still preferred two-edged knives for skinning, others liked a sharp point, curved back, and a blunt back edge, as in the European hunting knife. Many men made still smaller knives for miscellaneous uses around the camp. A [439] certain number of small knives with copper blades may have been used even in the earliest days,[1] but all such specimens that I have seen, whether of iron or copper, date from the twentieth century, and the copper ones were made to sell to Europeans. Certainly the commonest type of knife in pre-European days, perhaps the only type outside the whittling knife, was the large lanceolate form commonly called the snow knife.

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Figure 109. Copper-bladed knives made for sale. *a*, IV.D.1361, 1/2; *b*, IV.D.313, approx. 1/2.

The older Thule inhabitants of the region, like those to the west and east, used a large, curved snow knife, nearly always made from whalebone. Figure 112 (IV.D.1660), however, shows a specimen obtained by Capt. J. Bernard in Coronation Gulf that is made from musk-ox horn. The local Eskimo knew its purpose, but had no recollection of ever using such a tool themselves.

Whittling Knives. Typical whittling knives (*haviro.n*) with iron blades are shown in Figure 113. Copper was used for the blade in early times, but I was able to obtain only two examples, one of which is shown in Figure 114. Here, as often with the iron-bladed whittling knives, the handle is perforated half-way along its length for the attachment of the sharpener, which was usually of steel, but in this case a small copper pencil mounted in an antler handle.

Figure 113*a* shows a fairly old specimen with a tiny blade of what seems to be hoop iron; the handle, as usual, is of antler, and the rivet in this case of copper. In the specimen represented in Figure 113*b* the handle has been extended by splicing a short additional piece of antler. The same thing has occurred in the specimen shown in Figure 113*d*, but such extensions were less usual among the Copper Eskimo than among the Eskimo to the west.

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[1] In 1929 Mr. Lincoln Washburn obtained a handleless copper knife blade (Figure 111) that had been picked up on Victoria Island. One surface only was covered with a green patina; the other was still coppery, though dulled. Probably the specimen is not of great age.

one needle, 8 inches long, the splinter was mounted in a wooden handle. The line was of sealskin, generally closed at the far end with a stick of bone, antler, or wood to prevent the fish from slipping off. 227 237 [283]

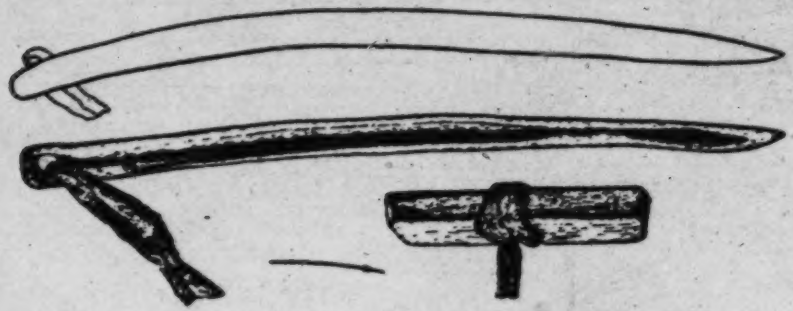

Figure 133. Bone needle for stringing fish. IV.D.461. Approx. 2/3.

227 415 287 [492]

Fish Bags. To pack their fish to camp the Eskimo used a bag of sealskin, commonly made by folding in the ends of a whole skin, doubling it over and tying a line to each end. The same bag, laced across, served as a dog-pack.

Fish Spears. Two varieties of fish spear were employed, the trident and the leister. The leister was preferred for spearing trout and salmon in lakes when they came to nibble at the lure, the trident for the migrating salmon that entered the weirs across streams; but generally a man used whichever weapon happened to be nearest at hand.

The shape of the leister is best seen from the illustration (Figure 134*a*). The handle was simply a long pole, split at the end to receive a barbed, occasionally barbless, point of antler, which was held in place with a lashing of sealskin, or more rarely of sinew. Two prongs facing each other, which sprang open on striking the fish, were invariably of copper or iron, copper, of course, being the original material; they were driven like nails into antler heads, which were bevelled off at the lower ends to fit corresponding ends on wooden extensions. Antler and wood were spliced with sealskin lashing, strengthened at times by bone or antler nails. The wooden extensions were then bevelled off in the same manner and lashed to the shaft, but not nailed, as low ridges at their tips prevented the lashings from slipping off. All these lashings quickly dried up from disuse, and the parts fell asunder except where they were held together by pegs. In a few leisters the side pieces were entirely of antler, not of antler and wood combined. 227 284 321 [325]

The trident (Figure 134*b*) resembled the leister, but had no prongs on the side pieces, which were made entirely of antler, pointed and barbed like the point in the middle. The number of barbs varied; in some cases they were directly opposite, in others staggered, both arrangements occurring at times on the same weapon. 227

Double-pointed spears were sometimes improvised for stabbing sculpins, or the small fish that hide under the stones on the margins of lakes. I have seen two sharpened pieces of bone, and even a European fork, lashed to the end of a walking-stick for this purpose. Naturally, they were dismantled again as soon as the need for them passed. [136] [177]

and a pointed bone or antler butt for planting the weapon upright in the snow. The butt was merely lashed to the end of the shaft with rawhide or sinew whipping; but the bone cap at the other end was riveted with bone or copper pins through two spurs that projected down the sides of the shaft, and the tapering end of the foreshaft was firmly wedged into its hollow by a packing of skin or fur. Through a hole drilled in the shaft just below the cap passed a sealskin thong that ran tautly one-third, one-half, or three-quarters the length of the shaft and was then knotted through another hole; it served, in conjunction with a piece of sinew attached to the hand line, to hold the harpoon head against the foreshaft. At the place where the sinew tucked under it, some hunters lashed the thong tightly against the shaft with a whipping of rawhide, or held it down with a copper "staple".

All the Copper Eskimo harpoon heads I have seen had blades separate from the head, although specimens of the old Thule culture, in this area as elsewhere, sometimes have the blade and head in one piece. The older Copper Eskimo harpoon heads were made of bone or antler, and the bone or copper blade, shaped exactly like an arrow point, was invariably set horizontally in the same plane as the line holes, and secured with a single rivet of bone or copper. The butt of the head was cut aslant, giving a single sharp spur, and a circular hole was drilled for the insertion of the foreshaft. Three of these old harpoon heads are illustrated in Figure 140.

Figure 140. Old harpoon heads. *a*, *b*: bone blades; *c*: copper blade. IV.D.1638, 600, 1629. 1/2.

The introduction of iron did not change the type of the Copper Eskimo harpoon head, but only its material. At first only the blades were of iron; the heads proper continued to be made from bone and antler. By 1914, however, nearly all heads had come to be of iron, or occasionally of brass, and what seems to have been a new feature was introduced, a lengthening and bifurcation of the butt, resulting in two, stout, chisel-edged spurs, which were themselves often notched (Figure 141). This change we must probably ascribe to influences from Hudson Bay, where the spur of the ordinary sealing harpoon head has been bifurcated for several centuries. Among the Copper Eskimo every metal harpoon head that came under my notice possessed this feature, but not a single bone or antler one, except the specimen that will now be discussed.

Figure 142 shows a harpoon head without separate blade that was included in a large collection of specimens brought back by Mr. Stefansson and labelled Minto Inlet, Victoria Island. If it actually came from that district, it must

surely have been unearthed in some old ruin of pre-Copper Eskimo times, for it is identical with specimens that have been dug up in old dwellings in both Mackenzie Delta and northern Alaska. I rather suspect, however, that it came from one of these western areas, as did several other specimens in the collection that were certainly wrongly labelled.

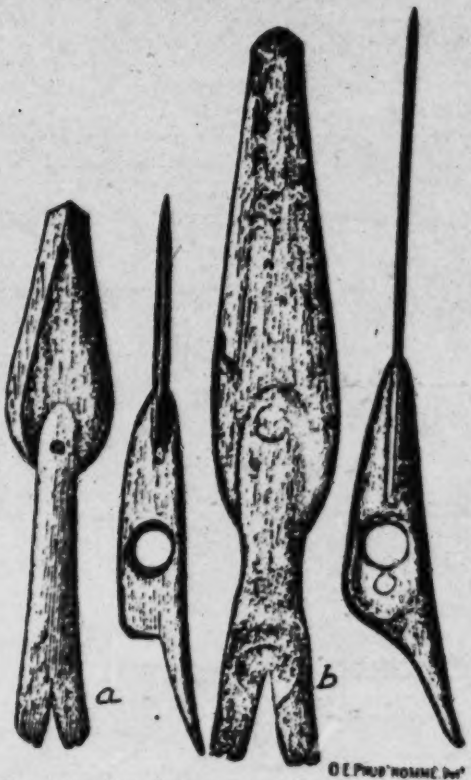

Figure 141. Modern harpoon heads with iron blades. *a*, IV.D.313, 1/1; *b*, IV.D.1054, 3/2.

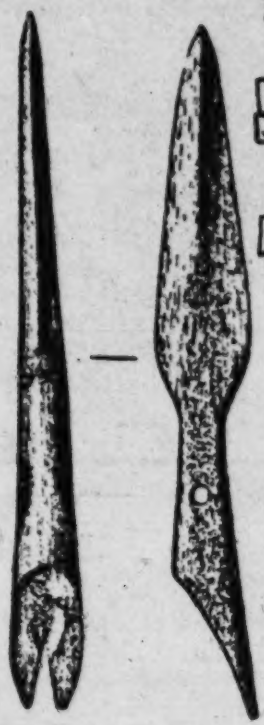

Figure 142. Bone harpoon head. IV.D.1334. 1/1.

The line attached to the head of the harpoon averaged in length a little over 2 metres and was made of plaited sinew, of sealskin, or of both combined, some hunters preferring sinew for the grip, but, for the toggle end, a sealskin thong less liable to fray. All lines were double from the toggle nearly to the grip; and to one or both strands, about 3 feet from the toggle end, was tied a short piece of sinew, which tucked under the thong running along the side of the shaft and held the lower part of the line taut until the seal was struck, when it immediately slipped out of place.

When the line was of plaited sinew it was graded from an 8- or 16-ply weave down to a 4 or 6 ply. At times this was accomplished by twisting some of the strands together, a 12-ply line, for example, being combined in twos to make one of 6 ply, and this perhaps again to 4 ply; the two ends could be

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
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its owner streamed water over the mud to produce the thin coating of ice that reduced friction to a minimum.[1] By the end of April, however, it required protection from the growing warmth; the Eskimo, therefore, draped the sunward sides of their sleds with skins when in motion, and piled snow over the runners when at rest. In May even this protection failed them; gradually the mud melted and fell away.

The tops and bottoms of the runners were roughly parallel except in front, where the bottoms curved upward like a ski. Spaced about a foot apart were the flat crossbars, each lashed down at the ends with a rawhide thong that passed two or three times over the bar and a corresponding number of times through a hole in the runner below. To the front crossbar was attached also the toggle that bore the strain of the traces, a "new-moon-shaped" object of musk-ox horn, slotted in the middle and suspended between the runners by means of a belt of stout rawhide, preferably from the skin of the bearded seal (Figure 177); each end of the belt passed from the inside through a special hole in the runner below the front crossbar and then "button-holed" over the projecting end of that bar. There seemed to be no variation in the shape of this sled toggle, nor did I see any that were not made of musk-ox horn, which indicates that the animals were comparatively numerous a few years ago within the territory of the Copper Eskimo.

Figure 177. Sled toggle, of musk-ox horn. IV.D.191. Approx. 1/4.

In the late spring and early summer, when a sled was difficult to drag over the numerous patches of bare ground, the Copper Eskimo commonly substituted the skin of a seal or polar bear, which glided with much less friction over soil and stones. In the autumn, again, before recovering the sleds they had abandoned late in the spring, they sometimes fashioned runners from skins, which they held in shape with fillings of willow branches and ice, and equipped with crossbars in the usual manner. On one occasion a native even used a block of ice for a sled; he merely rounded the bottom a little and grooved the front end for the attachment of his trace.

Two Eskimo who travelled from Backs River to our station in the winter of 1915-16 dragged sleds that were longer, narrower, and with lower runners than any I saw among the Copper Eskimo, but in all other respects seemed identical. One of them had a square sail of dehaired caribou hide mounted near the front to take advantage of the favourable wind; this, of course, was not an aboriginal invention, but reflected the influence of Europeans.

Sleds rarely carried any ornamentation. We observed only two instances, both of which consisted of a simple Y pattern painted in red and black on the sides of the runners where they began to turn upward.

Harness. Like other Eskimo previous to European contact, the natives around Coronation Gulf hitched their dogs to the sled fanwise, with individual

[1] See Reports of the Can. Arct. Expd., vol. XII, pp. 116, 119. The Copper Eskimo never mixed blood with the water, or used blood alone, as was commonly done by their countrymen farther to the east.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
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PREFACE

ONE cannot read this charming narrative of the author's life during two years with the primitive Eskimos of the Coronation Gulf Region without getting a deep sympathy for these simple, unsophisticated children of the twilight, who are still living in their communistic state, and have not felt the burden of wealth—except perhaps that someone of their best men, like "Knife," may have so much domestic equipment that it is difficult to pack all his belongings on one dog sledge when they are wandering.

Surely many readers will feel a longing to live in the snow hut or in the tent under the good care of Mother Icehouse, to go stalking the caribou or watch for the seals at their breathing holes with Father Ikpuck and the "Runner," or to play with little bright sister Jenny Sunshine.

A charming people of happy children, not yet stung by the venom of our culture, not burdened by the intricate problems and the acid dissatisfaction of our society. Starving sometimes perhaps when food is scarce (but that does not last long); and when food is plentiful life is laughing happiness with no sorrows of the past and none for the morrow. They live happily but under extreme conditions. During ages they have learnt to master the severe forces of nature, and no other people can take their place and develop the possibilities of those northern regions. But contact with our civilization, when not carefully guarded as in Greenland, will upset the whole system of their life and community, and they must sink.

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181 The greedy white men wish to get hold of their
177 furs; but what do we give them instead? Our
439 products, some of which are of very doubtful value to them, indeed, and then our ghastly, insidious diseases, and often our bad customs and morals.

They had fitted their life into the conditions of their surroundings; with their old weapons taxing the game sufficiently to satisfy amply their requirements, without reducing the stock. Then we bring them rifles, nay, even magazine rifles, offering to buy the skins. The slaughter begins; the game, formerly so abundant, will in a few years be more or less exterminated, and the main condition that made their life possible be gone.

181 What a sad guilt we white men have towards native
177 races! But these people live in a land that will be of no value to us without them.

Let there be no doubt about it; they, too, are doomed if nothing really effective is done to protect them. The land of the great white silence will never more ring with the happy mirth of these lovable children of the twilight.

Surely the Canadian people and authorities will not allow such a thing to happen, when once their attention has been drawn to it. No one can be deaf to the thrilling appeal with which the author ends his book. May he be the harbinger of a brighter dawn in twilight land. The problem must be faced, but at once and with intelligent prudence, unless it shall be too late.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN

Lysaker

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CHAPTER II

AN OUTPOST ON THE POLAR SEA

• 177 IN the summer of 1912 a pioneer trader cruising along the Arctic coast of Canada discovered, behind a low island, a tiny deep-water cove, afterward named in his honour Bernard Harbour. The cove is now the regional headquarters of three distinct organizations—the Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican Mission, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; but when the *Alaska* and the *North Star* sailed into it, in August, 1914, the country was still bare
133 and seemingly uninhabited. Low, stony ridges, sparsely covered with mosses and lichens, concealed all the region to the south and west, and across the narrow neck of land that bounded the cove on its eastern side was a second inlet similar to our own, but less sheltered from the prevailing winds. On this narrow neck of land we decided to set up our station.
114 We spent two busy days unloading our cargoes onto the beach. A propeller blade of the *Alaska* had been broken against an ice-cake, and the engineer had

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ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

rigid taboos to finish the sewing on the sea-ice. My old snow-hut was empty as I had left it, but cold and cheerless without the warm glow of a blubber-lamp. Seeking more comfort in an inhabited hut, I became the "guest" of a man named Snow-Knife, sharing my food with his family and giving them presents from time to time in payment for occupying half their dwelling. The arrangement proved fairly satisfactory for two or three weeks, but later in the winter I changed my quarters and lodged with another family more sensitive to my personal comfort than to my worldly possessions.

The women sewed industriously from morning till night, but the men found the time drag heavily. Some of them were still bringing in the caribou meat they had cached during the summer, and the pokes of blubber left on the coast in the spring. A few set fox-traps obtained the previous winter from Captain Bernard, the first and only trader who had visited their country. The rest stayed quietly at home and put their sealing-gear in order, or helped their wives to scrape the caribou hides.

In one hut that I visited a middle-aged Eskimo was trying to repair a 30.30 Winchester rifle he had purchased from Captain Bernard. A bullet had stuck in the barrel, for, like many a more civilized hunter, he had scrupulously oiled the outside of the weapon, but entirely neglected the inside. He hammered on the

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bullet with his ramrod; when that failed, he borrowed another rifle and fired a blank cartridge down the muzzle, while a crowd of natives stood around him to see the result. Fortunately there were no casualties; the chamber merely swelled to the size of a hen's egg and cracked. Then the man and his companions, thinking that the tempered steel might be malleable like the native copper they used for their tools, attempted to weld the crack by pounding on it with a heavy stone.

Hitherto I had escaped all friction with the natives; now came my first trouble. I was sitting in their largest hut, bartering knives, files, and cooking-pots for the usual museum specimens. A native offered to exchange a small horn drinking ladle for a twelve-inch butcher's knife, and I refused, since the knife was worth a dozen such ladles. He knew that all my companions were fifty miles away, and determined to take by force what he was unable to obtain through barter. He seized the knife, and I seized his wrist. In strength we were equally matched; he could not release his wrist, nor could I force the knife out of his fingers. The hut was crowded to suffocation with Eskimos, who made no attempt to take part in the struggle, but waited to see the issue. They had no chief, no one with authority to settle the case at strife; if my adversary won, the more lawless would band together and strip me of everything I had. The

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225 inland would snap the lashings of their bows. This was not true, for other Eskimos who possessed no weapons except bows and arrows before the introduction of rifles hunted in the interior all through the [354] winter. But these inland Eskimos used caribou fat in [171] their stone lamps, and caribou fat is a miserable substitute for seal-blubber, which gives a far purer and hotter flame. There lay the real explanation. The Coppermine Eskimos could have hunted the caribou if they wished, but they preferred the sea-ice and its more comfortable homes lit up by the burning blubber.

132 The temperature was only —30° F., 20° higher than inland, when we reached the mouth of the Coppermine; yet the cold seemed more biting, for the air was damp, the atmosphere foggy, and a slight north-
123 east wind blew directly in our faces. We struck out-
[225] northward over the ice, and on the second day sighted three Eskimos standing over their seal-holes. They viewed with alarm the strange sled and toboggan, so different from any of their own; but our peace-signal banished their fears, and they joyfully guided us to their village a few miles farther on. The whole population turned out to welcome us and to assist in setting up our tent, which they seemed to understand almost
[354] as well as ourselves. They understood, also, our stove for burning wood, for they informed us that there was no driftwood within five miles of their settlement and
177 offered to lend us two stone lamps and a little blubber.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

In these and other ways they showed a greater familiarity with the customs of the white man than the natives of Dolphin and Union Strait. We found even more astounding evidences of contact with Europeans when we visited their snow-huts.

The village itself differed slightly from the usual type, the houses being arranged in line and separated by considerable intervals; normally they lie in a cluster, in order that no evil spirits may harm the inmates as they wander in the darkness from one hut to another. Johansen and I began our tour at one end, and dropped a trail of matches and needles along the line to show our appreciation of the scraps of blubber, meat, and fish with which each housewife paid us tribute. The last hut was also the largest. A dance-house framed the entrance, and half a dozen dogs, twice the usual number, squabbled in the passage, indicating that the occupant was a man of influence in his community. We brushed the dogs aside, and crawled on hands and knees through the low doorway at the inner end. Seated in state on his sleeping-platform was Knife, by repute the shrewdest Eskimo, and the most powerful medicine-man, in this section of the country; and on each side of him, supporting his dignity, sat a wife, the one chosen for her beauty, the other for her skill in hunting. He smiled a welcome as we entered, and, with a haughty gesture of his hand, motioned the younger woman to give us her seat.

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ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

We lingered a few minutes only, but I visited him again in the evening, when he had the stage all set for my reception. The hut was thronged with hunters sipping oily tea from two small china cups. Over the blubber-lamp hung an iron cauldron from which Knife dipped up the evil-looking beverage with a greasy ladle of musk-ox horn. Some of his treasures lay beside him, dragged out of bags and boxes for my edification. There were two rifles, a Hollis double-barrelled fowling-piece, a pipe, plug tobacco, and part of an American magazine; strangest of all, a Roman breviary and an illustrated French Scripture book.

How, and where, had he obtained these last? Hanbury, the English explorer who passed through this country twelve years before, had certainly not carried them on his sled. Captain Bernard might have brought some of them on his vessel when he wintered in 1910 near the mouth of the Coppermine River; but surely he had no Roman breviary or French Scripture book? How did they come into the possession of the Eskimos?

I questioned Knife. The previous summer, he said, he and his kinsmen had traded with three white men near Great Bear Lake. One of the white men, who wore a robe and a crucifix, was especially friendly, and when Knife and his companions secured him a supply of fresh meat, rewarded them with many presents, among them the rifles and the books.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
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Knife's answer seemed plausible enough at the moment, and I made no further enquiries. Later I began to doubt his story, for what priest would give his Latin breviary to a savage? Palaiyak then told me, too, that he had seen a cassock and a crucifix in another hut. There must have been foul play somewhere. Had the Eskimos robbed the missionary? Had they murdered him?

I questioned Knife again a few weeks later, but he merely repeated the same story. A corporal of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police attached himself to our party the next autumn, and the following spring an inspector brought in a patrol from Great Bear Lake. Then the grim story came gradually to light.

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Two French missionaries, Fathers Rouvier and LeRoux, passed through Great Bear Lake in the summer of 1912, charged with the establishment of a mission among the pagan inhabitants of Coronation Gulf. They began their ministrations on the Dismal Lakes, whither a few Eskimo families drifted in search of caribou; but the Eskimos vanished to the northward with the coming of the first snows, and the priests were left in solitude all winter. The natives visited them again the following summer, and the priests, determined not to lose sight of them, accompanied them to the coast. Trouble arose almost immediately. The

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of three hours. At times I myself almost rivalled his feat without either quenching my thirst or feeling that it was in any way abnormal.

Early in May we camped four miles from the south coast of Victoria Island, where the hunters could continue sealing, if they wished, or intercept the caribou as they grazed on the beach before proceeding inland. Sealing was the more profitable occupation, since the caribou were lean from long travelling and their meat satisfied the hunger of neither men nor dogs. Even their hides were useless, for the larvæ of warble-flies had profusely perforated them, and the long white fur of winter was beginning to shed and give place to a shorter coat of brown. But my companions, who had lived on seal meat alone for four months, craved variety, and the sight of caribou increased the desire. We divided our party; those who had only bows and arrows continued to watch over the seal-holes, and the three who possessed rifles hunted caribou, Ikpuck with a .44 Winchester, The Runner with a .22 Remington, and myself with a Ross Sporting .280.

Our first caribou hunt gave me some useful training for the days to follow. A man who had risen earlier than the rest sighted five caribou passing our camp a mile to the eastward, and awakened Ikpuck and me. We dressed hastily, and, without waiting for breakfast, raced at top speed for the shore to cut them off as soon as they landed. Breathless with the exertion,

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574 123 We visited him every evening, listened to his adventures at the sealing-ground, watched him re-enact each little drama inside the hut, and brandish his harpoon over imaginary seal-holes. His wife overhauled our clothing, and placed our hut on her distribution list for a daily ration of meat. Day or night, they welcomed us in their home like their own children, and—what gave us the most pleasure—looked for no recompense; indeed, they seemed quite surprised when at parting we offered them a few small gifts from our scanty store.

• 177 Several miles east of their settlement was a pyramid four feet square at the base and twelve feet high, built of flattish slabs of limestone and sandstone interspersed with boulders of diabase and granite. A vertical slab of limestone rather more than a foot long, that projected above a horizontal one three times that length, formed at the top a cross visible from a distance of three or four miles. The Runner told us that white travellers had constructed the monument long before he was born—Sir George Simpson's people, we discovered later, when they were weather-bound in this place in 1839. If they left any other record of their visit it was concealed inside the pyramid, which, of course, we did not dismantle; but wedged between two of the outer stones was a board from a biscuit box stamped "Canadian Arctic Expedition," with a date, "September, 1915," written in pencil underneath.

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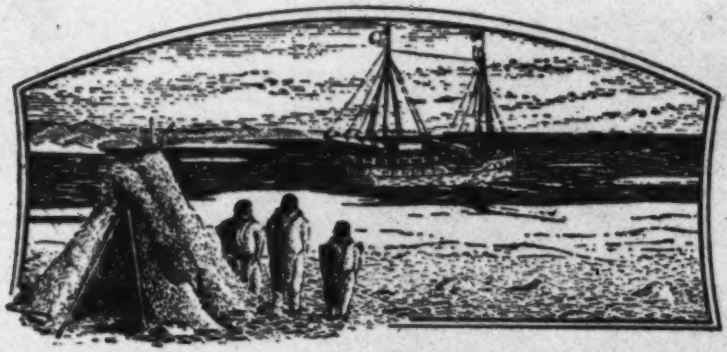

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST DAYS

000 THE harbour ice broke up about the middle of June, and our schooner swayed once more to the gentle motion of the waves. Though the pack in the strait appeared still solid and immovable, a dark line across the sky indicated open water at no great distance, warning us to hasten the prepara-
126 tions for our departure. The house would remain to
114 serve Girling as a mission building, and some of our supplies were hardly worth freighting away; but there were natives to pay for their services, tents and equipment to store deep in the hold, and thousands of specimens, geological, biological, and ethnographic, to label and pack away in boxes, bags, and tins—any receptacle, in fact, that could be made to serve our needs.

123 Several families of Eskimos that fluctuated between
• 177 the station and a small fishing-creek four miles away garnered a rich harvest from our packing. They gath-

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ered up the empty gasolene cans to convert into cooking-pots, and scrap bars of iron to hammer into chisels and harpoon shafts. Sometimes they gleaned more widely than we desired, even carrying away two tarpaulins that covered a cache; but they surrendered these ill-gotten trophies with great good-humour. Many offered to help us for a trifling consideration, such as a half-dozen matches or an old, disused knife; but there were few tasks that lay within their power. To distract their attention from more serious matters we sent them to help Johansen, who was devoting every spare moment to augmenting his collections of the various plants and insects. So all one afternoon a stream of natives flowed steadily toward his tent, calling, "Matches, Johansen, matches," each individual holding out in payment a fly or a grub sadly crushed between thumb and forefinger. How many matches they obtained I cannot say; but since the biological collections underwent no increase, the experiment was not continued.

Ikpuck and his family, who were to keep watch over the station between the time of our departure and Girling's arrival, pitched their tent beside us for a short time before joining their countrymen at the fishing-creek. I visited him each day to talk over old times, and to observe his progress on the new steel runners that he was fitting to his sled. One evening Icehouse sent away the children and asked me to lie on

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L'ENVOI

123 THE Great War was ended, and I sat at my desk again, absorbed in the routine of my every-day work. There was a knock at the door, and Girling entered, but lately returned from a five years' sojourn in the land of twilight. "Icehouse sends you a message," he said; "a message to the son who left her four years ago. She has heard of your marriage, and she longs for a picture of the strange white woman who is now her daughter. She wants, too, a bowl, a large agate bowl. But the picture she desires more than all."

Three years passed before the second message came, this time from Ikpuck. "Jennie your sister is married and has a son. But I am growing old. Come back and stay with me once more before I die."

• 177 What will the next message say, I wonder? The [439] country has changed since 1916. Even while we said our farewells the traders were all heading eastward to the new land where beautiful white fox skins were valueless and a fortune could be gained in a night. White men have invaded it from every quarter, and the twilight of ignorance and superstition is yielding [411] to the dawn of a greater knowledge. Bows and arrows have passed with other weapons into the darkness of

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the past, and a new mechanical age has brought magazine rifles, shotguns, steel traps, and even gasolene engines. The caribou are passing with the bows and arrows; of all the herds that once crossed the narrow strait to Victoria Island hardly one now reaches the Arctic shore. Strange diseases are making their appearance, disease that the old-time Eskimo never heard of and for which he has no name. The stern laws of civilization have descended on the land; no longer is infanticide tolerated, or the blood-feud allowed to run its course. "Furs, furs, more furs," is the white man's cry. "Without furs there is no salvation, no ammunition to shoot the scattered game and satisfy your hungry children." The tribal bands where each man toiled for all and shared his food in common are resolving into their constituent families, and every family vies with the rest in the race for wealth and worldly prosperity.

Whither will it all lead? Fifty years ago the cyclone swept over the Eskimos of the Mackenzie River delta, and of its two thousand inhabitants a scant two hundred survive. Fifty years earlier it struck Baffin Island with a similar result. Will history, fifty years hence, record the same fate for this twilight land where for two years we carried on our mission? Were we the harbingers of a brighter dawn, or only messengers of ill-omen, portending disaster?

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EPILOGUE

123 FOUR years after Girling brought me the message from Icehouse a radio station at the mouth of the Coppermine River sent me this call from Ikpuck: "Come back and hunt with me once more on Victoria Island." Jennie added her appeal:

"If you come I will make you a new suit of clothes. But come quickly, for I may not live long."

No call came from Icehouse. She had succumbed a few months earlier to the influenza that had been carried into Coronation Gulf from the white man's world. And Ikpuck never sent a second call.

When summer came round the old hunter wandered back with two or three companions to our stamping grounds on Victoria Island. One morning he went out alone to look for caribou and did not return. No one knows what happened; but of one thing I am sure, that when the angel drew near and offered him the darker draught he drained it without shrinking. Jennie lost her first baby about the same time; and she herself followed it within six months, victim of the tuberculosis that was to carry off her husband also. In America, as elsewhere, the kiss of the white man has brought death to numberless natives whom isolation had protected from our diseases; and the People of the Twilight did not escape.

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EPILOGUE

Within ten years of our departure from Bernard Harbour one third of them had been swept away by influenza, and of the hundred Eskimos gathered around the radio station at Coppermine no fewer than twenty-six suffered from advanced tuberculosis.

Was this inevitable? Had we been more conscious of our responsibilities could we have spared them so rude an awakening, so painful an entry into what we call a civilized world? Or does fate spin her web remorselessly, blind to human hopes and weaknesses, indifferent to human suffering?

The children of Jennie's generation who escaped the new diseases underwent a social and economic revolution. Even as we sailed away traders entered their country seeking fox-furs, always fox-furs; and for those pelts so useless for real clothing they offered rifles, shot-guns, steel tools and other goods that promised to make life much easier. So the Eskimos abandoned their communal seal hunts and scattered in isolated families along the coasts in order to trap white foxes during the winter months when the fur of that animal reaches its prime. Their dispersal loosened the old communal ties that had held the families together. The men no longer labored for the entire group, but hunted and trapped each one for his family alone. Their diet and costume changed: more and more it became the diet and costume of the white man. For they had to purchase their winter's supply of food from the trading stores, since trapping

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177 439 [224] [226] left them no time to hunt seals; and they had to buy clothing too from the same stores when the rifles that the traders supplied them exterminated the herds of caribou or drove them into districts far remote. So the new barter economy—furs in exchange for the goods of civilization—made life harder instead of easier, more complicated instead of more simple. The commercial world of the white man had caught the Eskimos in its mesh, destroyed their self-sufficiency and independence, and [261] made them economically its slaves. Only in one respect did it benefit them: it lessened the danger of those unpredictable famines which had overtaken them every ten or fifteen years, bringing suffering and death to young and old without distinction.

177 Today the youth of the second generation faces another revolution. The atomic age is reaching out towards the Arctic. On this coast and on that stand radar outposts to scan the upper atmosphere, scientific stations to [464] study it and to measure the sun's rays. Already a handful of Jennie's cousins and nephews have found employment at some of these stations: they have unloaded ships and planes, driven motor-boats and caterpillar-tractors, and shown a competence equal to the white man's in operating civilization's simpler machines. Only opportunity and training are lacking to equip them for [435] larger roles. They are adapting themselves, too, to our money economy, and learning to work for a daily wage. But when we who created this money economy igno-

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rantly distort and misapply it, how can we teach Eskimos but one step removed from the stone age to use it for their own and others' welfare, and not for increasing human unhappiness? 177 (435)

DIAMOND JENNESS

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